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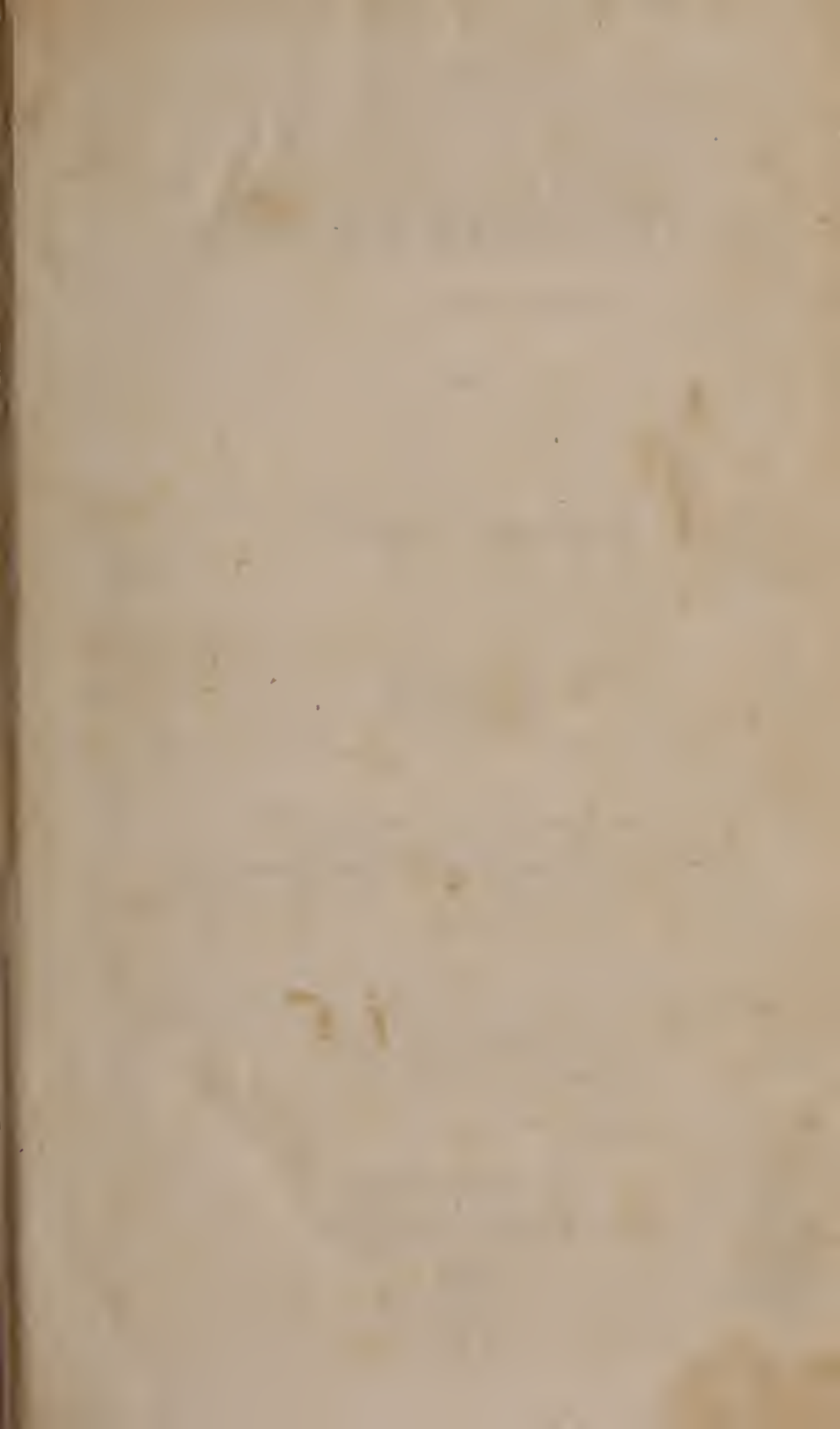
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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. 8.

Published by order of the Managers of the

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. X.]

NOVEMBER, 1834.

[No. 9.

REVIEW.

A Letter from JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq. to the REV. THORNTON J. MILLS, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, dated Mercer County, Ky. July 15, 1834.

THE readers of the African Repository have had an opportunity of perusing, in several of the numbers for the past and the present year, some letters, originally published, we believe, in the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat, from the pen of Mr. JAMES G. BIRNEY. This gentleman was recently Agent of the American Colonization Society for the south-western district, composed of the States of Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, and the territory of Arkansas; and the object of those letters was to vindicate, by making more fully known, the principles and course of the Society. Though not concurring in all the views taken by the writer, we were not deterred by that consideration from copying his essays into the Repository; and he may feel assured, that the suspension of their republication after the seventh number proceeded only from the casual loss of the subsequent letters. Should he be able to supply them, it will give us pleasure to complete the series, though, perhaps, at the risk of renewed censure from intelligent friends who had objected to some passages of the republished numbers, as having a *pro-slavery* tendency. It was our design, should we recover the missing numbers, to accompany the translation of them to this Journal, with an attempted defence against that imputation. Our anxiety on the subject, was soon, however, interrupted most unexpectedly by rumours that the party for whom we were meditating an apology had surrendered to his assailants, and was about to fulfilminate from their camp charges against the Colonization Society, similar to those which had been made against himself. The flourishes with which the organs of Immediate Abolition announced, in advance, Mr. BIRNEY's abjurement of the Colonization cause, were in due season followed by the appearance of the letter, of which the title is given at the head of this article. Instead, therefore, of defending the officer of the Society against his adversaries, we are placed in the sudden necessity of defending the Society against the Parthian warfare of the fugitive officer.

This task is undertaken with a strong feeling of regret, at the loss which the cause of Colonization has sustained in the desertion of an adherent conspicuous for official zeal and diligence, and enjoying a high reputation for his literary attainments, moral respectability and ardent piety. Such incidents, however, though painful, are not discouraging. The excellence of the cause will, as it has heretofore done, raise up for itself new supporters; and in the retirement of one champion from its defence, its constant friends will recognise a fresh motive for perseverance and energy on their parts.

As it was scarcely six months before the date of Mr. Birney's letter, when the Kentucky Auxiliary elected him one of its Vice-Presidents, without, it would seem, any whisper from him, that the honour was inappropriate, Mr. Mills, unless more than ordinarily penetrated with the truth of the wise man's saying—"there is no new thing under the sun"—must have started with surprise at the first tidings of the new functionary's new movement. This emotion was probably even more lively in the breasts of such friends of the Society, as knew that so lately as last fall, when Mr. B. informed the Parent Board that his intended change of residence would close his Agency for the south-western district, the information was coupled with professions of undiminished zeal for the Colonization cause, with pledges of future service, and with an intimation of his willingness to accept an Agency for Kentucky. That the Managers did not act on this suggestion, was owing, it is presumed, to the fact, that their interests in Kentucky were then in charge with another gentleman.—They received, during the winter, fresh assurance from Mr. B. of his continued attachment.

The suspicion excited by the suddenness of Mr. Birney's conversion, that it proceeded rather from some mystical *afflatus*, than from full reflection, is not removed by the apparent elaboration of his manifesto. For though this paper reaches the formidable length of some 15 or 20 columns of the *Liberator*, much of it will be found to be, not the result of original reasoning, but the accumulation of trite commonplaces against Colonization; in collecting which, a sharp pair of scissors was quite as important as a sharp intellect. Long as the manifesto is, the reader will be dismayed to learn that it contains only "some of the reasons which have persuaded" the writer to abandon the Colonization Society. Possibly, when the reserved reasons shall be forthcoming, some indications may be seen in them of the "unequaled force of logic," which the Secretary of an Anti-Slavery Society facetiously ascribes to the reasons which are proclaimed. On these, it is our purpose now to submit some observations.

After an introductory account of his early impressions concerning the Colonization Scheme, and of his exertions as Agent of the Society for the south-western district, Mr. Birney notices the formation, through his instrumentality, and that of Mr. Polk, of an Auxiliary Society at Huntsville:

"This," he adds, "was the first instance of direct action in the South, for the benefit of any part of the coloured population, of which I then had a personal knowledge. I was greatly encouraged at the favorable aspect of things on this, the first trial, for it was made in a town where, considering its size, there is unusual concentration, of intelligence, and in the very midst of a population numbering a majority of blacks. At that time, I believed there was in the project so much of a vivifying spirit, that to ensure success, it was only necessary for the people of the South *once* to become interested in it: that there was in it so much of the energy of life, that it required nothing *more than once* to be set on foot to put beyond all question its continuance and growth. As auxiliary to the impulses of benevolence, I calculated upon the *selfish* advantages to the South. These, I thought, could be so clearly and powerfully exhibited, that there would be none to gainsay or resist, and that, by the union of benevolence and selfishness, the co-operation of the whole South might be secured. I unhesitatingly declare, that the total incongruity of these two principles did not strike my mind as it has done, since I witnessed their dissociable and mutu-

ally destructive energy. Of the truth of this remark, the Huntsville Society will furnish good evidence, for notwithstanding its auspicious beginning, and the excitement of eloquent and animating addresses delivered, at different times, by gentlemen of distinguished ability, it never was efficient, its excitability wore away as it advanced in age, and it protracted a languishing existence until last autumn, when, I apprehend, it terminated its being, except in name."

The legitimate use of the fact, that the formation of a Colonization Society at Huntsville was the first instance, within Mr. Birney's knowledge, of "direct action in the South, for the benefit of any part of the coloured population," would be to infer from that fact, the peculiar tendency of the Society to waken public attention to the interests of the coloured people. In this effort, it seems that Mr. B. relied, "as auxiliary to the impulses of benevolence," on "the *selfish* advantages to the South"—a reliance which he has since found reason to condemn. His present opinion appears to be that the Colonization Society cannot be a scheme at once benevolent to the coloured people, and conducive to the interests of the whites at the South; he having recently discovered a 'total incongruity' between the two principles! He even thinks this truth to be so obvious, as to require from him an apology for his not having formerly perceived it. "I UNHESITATINGLY DECLARE, that the total incongruity of these two principles did NOT strike my mind, as it has done, since I witnessed their dissociable, and mutually destructive energy." Now, we submit, that it is by no means wonderful that this imputed incongruity did not strike Mr. Birney's mind sooner. The wonder is, that it ever struck his mind at all, or the mind of any man. Reflecting persons have generally supposed that a plan may be based on the strongest foundations of duty, and be animated by the most enlarged principles of philanthropy, and yet promise advantages, on the score of individual interests, which its advocate would be not only justifiable for pressing, but inexcusable for omitting. Nay, on a subject, in comparison with which all matters of merely human concernment are but trifles, appeals to subordinate interests have been regarded as appropriate. The Ministers of our Holy Religion, not content with urging its high sanctions as a Revelation from the Almighty, announcing His will, and demanding the obedience of His creatures, habitually enforce the consideration, that man's temporal happiness is best subserved by his conformity with the rule of life which that Revelation prescribes. These pious men are now to be told, that there is a "total incongruity" between the spiritual character of the Gospel, and its capacity to confer "selfish advantages" on man. It must be noted, that in using the latter topic they are careful not to invest it with an importance disproportioned to that of the main argument. A similar caution is incumbent on the advocates of any inferior system, recommended on the one hand by its benevolence, and on the other by its utility. If, in pleading for Colonization, Mr. Birney dwelt exclusively or too fondly on its "selfish advantages," this was an error of his own, which it is not very gracious in him to make now an article of his impeachment against the Society.

If this gentleman's theory of the "total incongruity, &c." be strange, the illustration of it, which he complacently calls "evidence," is not less so. What is it? Why, that an Auxiliary Colonization Society was dissolved last autumn. This may show that the Auxiliary had what Mr. B. calls a "dissociable energy," but it no more proves his assumption, than the death of an individual proves a "total incongruity" between his intellectual and his animal nature. Mr. B. seems himself to suspect the inadequacy of this illustration to the purpose of its adduction, and even to forget, in a few moments, that he had such a purpose in view: for in the next paragraph but one, he says :

"I mention the institution of the Society at Huntsville and its decline, not for the purpose of giving its history as a matter of interest in itself, nor solely with the view of showing my friendly disposition towards Colonization, but as an instance, (to which the condition of the others mentioned, as well as that of all the smaller Societies throughout the region in which I acted, might be added,) falling under my own observation that every day's experience is making more palpable to my mind, that there is not in Colonization any principle, or quality, or constituent substance, fitted so to tell upon the hearts and minds of men as to ensure continued and persevering action. If there be the connection supposed, between the facts introduced above and the proposition just stated, may I not ask you, sir, if the little that has been done for Colonization by our own State, where years ago it was welcomed with open arms, and within whose limits I could not state from personal knowledge that it has a single enemy, and the present crippled and unmoving condition of the numerous Societies, auxiliary to that whose correspondence you so ably conduct, do not furnish testimony very powerful if not irresistible, that the whole matter has not in it any principle exciting to *strenuous—to continuous* action."

The case of the Huntsville Society seems as little likely to promote the object for which it is here brought forward, as it was to prove the dogma of the "total incongruity." The revised motive for the reference to it, is to show, "*that there is not in Colonization any principle, or quality, or constituent substance, fitted so to tell upon the hearts or minds of men, as to ensure continued and persevering action;*" or, in other words, that the vicissitudes of an Auxiliary Society prove the system of which it is a part, to be unsound and desperate. If this be "logic" at all, it may readily be admitted to be "unequaled." The corollary is, that the hopelessness of the Colonization Society being thus demonstrated, its friends ought to abandon it. Is it then true, that no scheme, however redundant of promised benefits and blessings, can ultimately prosper, because it sustains occasional disasters? It is well that this timid philosophy was unknown to Columbus, when ignorance and prejudice opposed his plan for discovering a world; or to the colonizers of Jamestown, so often suffering under aggravated calamities, and so nearly their victim; or, to cite a loftier example, to the early Missionaries of the Cross, when principalities and powers sought to trample on them: and that it has not chilled those countless plans of benevolence which characterize our own day and generation. Justice, as well as sound philosophy, prescribes a test for trying any project, very different from that of its partial unpopularity. Both require that if on fair and full examination it appear worthy of acceptance, its friends should find in its adversity an added stimulus to "*strenuous—to continued* action."

But, on this topic, we not only reject Mr. Birney's reasoning, but we deny his facts. Without expressly affirming, he leaves it to be plainly inferred, that the cause of Colonization is weaker now than it was at its inception. That it is vehemently denounced in various quarters, is admitted. But this very circumstance has induced an investigation of its principles, and a comparison of it with other projects for meliorating the condition of the African race; and the result, by throwing into bright contrast its practical, peaceful and constitutional character, has acquired for it a popularity too solid to be shaken by occasional misfortunes, by the vituperation of foes or the infidelity of friends. If Auxiliary Societies have gone down in one place, they have risen up in another; if prominent individuals, who had embraced it under erroneous views, have since forsaken it, other individuals equally prominent, whom prejudice had estranged from it, have, on farther observation, cast away that prejudice, and are now its zealous supporters; the torpor of the public mind on the subject has been roused by discussion, and discussion has in the general result, increased and confirmed the claims of our cause on public confidence. As the alleged unpopularity of the colonizing system seems to have weighed heavily with Mr. Birney, it might perhaps be advisable for him to re-examine his con-

clusions on that point. It is not easy to reconcile them with his subsequent complaint, that the "Colonization Society has succeeded in bringing around it the learned, the religious, the influential;" and that "by the multiplied resolutions of favoring legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences and associations, it has so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment." But this is not, as will be seen in the sequel, the only instance in which the "unequaled force" of Mr. Birney's logic is directed against his own arguments.

The compliments of intelligent prints to the moderation of this gentleman's language in the letter under review, had prepared us to find him free from the error so common with converts, of vilifying their forsaken faith; and we felt quite sure that good taste would prevent him from reproaching his former associates. These agreeable impressions were strengthened by the just tribute to their motives, contained in the following paragraph :

"In stating the objections which exist in my mind to Colonization, I wish to be understood distinctly at the outset, that I do not, in the slightest degree, impute to the benevolent individuals by whom it was originated, or even to a large majority of those by whom it is still warmly cherished, any unworthy motive as prompting their zeal. Whilst I cheerfully attribute to this majority stainless purity of motive in what they have done and are doing; and further, a strong persuasion that it is the only means of rescue from the polluting and crushing folds of slavery; I should be insincere, were I not to state my belief that Colonization, if not supported, is not objected to, by many a keen-sighted slaveholder in the abstract, who has perspicacity enough to discern that the dark system in which he has involved himself, his posterity and their interests, will remain as unaltered by it as mid-ocean by the discharge of a pop gun on the beach.

"Nor do I intend to be understood, as making any objection to the purpose of the American Colonization Society, as expressed in its constitution, "to promote a plan for colonizing (*with their consent*) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may deem most expedient." If its operations be limited to the gratification of an intelligent wish on the part of the free people of colour, or any other class of our population, to remove to Africa, with the view of establishing a colony for the prosecution of an honest commerce, or for any lawful purpose whatever, there could exist, so far as I could see, no reasonable ground of opposition, any more than to the migration, that is now in progress, of crowds of our fellow citizens to Texas, or any other part of Mexico."

Alas! immediately after the foregoing passages, in which "*a stainless purity of motive*" is so emphatically ascribed to "*a large majority*" of the friends of Colonization, comes the subjoined description of that very majority :

"If on the other hand, it is meant that this "*consent*" may be lawfully obtained by the imposition of civil disabilities, disfranchisement, exclusion from sympathy; by making the free colored man the victim of a relentless proscription, prejudice and scorn; by rejecting altogether his oath in courts of justice, thus leaving his property, his person, his wife, his children, and all that God has by his very constitution made dear to him, unprotected from the outrage and insult of every unfeeling tyrant, it becomes a solemn farce, it is the refinement of inhumanity, a mockery of all mercy, it is cruel, unmanly, and meriting the just indignation of every American, and the noble nation that bears his name. To say that the "*consent*" thus extorted is the *approbation of the mind*, is as preposterous as to affirm that a man *consents* to surrender his purse, on the condition that you spare his life, or, to be transported to Botany Bay, when the hand of despotism is ready to stab him to the heart.

"Now, if the Colonization Society has done—is doing this; if it has succeeded in bringing around it the learned, the religious, the influential; if by the multiplied resolutions of favoring legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences, and associations, it has so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment; if it has acquired great authority over the mind of this people, and uses it to encourage and not to check this heartless and grinding oppression; if, instead of pleading for mercy to the weak and helpless, it sanctions the most open and crushing injustice, or even connives at it, by urging the necessity of Colonization upon the alleged ground of the immutability of the state of things, for the perpetua-

tion of which it is lending all its influence; if, I say, it has done this, its unsoundness, its foulness cannot be too soon, or too fully exposed, that the just sentence of condemnation may be passed upon it by every good man and patriot of the land."

The crimination of the Colonization Society conveyed in the passages just cited, is not mitigated by the conditional form of the charges. Indeed, even this thin veil is removed by the very next sentence—"when, *also*, in the progress of its development, it *throws itself before the public*, as the only effectual and appropriate remedy for slavery"—which attaches its declarative character to the preceding sentences in the connexion. Let us strip, then, the accusation of the machinery of '*ifs*,' with which the author,

"Willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike,"

has encumbered it, and let us demand his evidence. Where is his proof that the Colonization Society means "*force*," when it says "*consent*?"—that it makes "*the coloured man the victim of a relentless proscription, prejudice and scorn*?"—that it is "*a solemn farce*," "*the refinement of inhumanity, a mockery of all mercy*?"—"that it is *cruel, unmanly, and meriting the just indignation of every American*?"—that it encourages "*heartless and grinding oppression*?"—that it "*sanctions the most open and crushing injustice*"—and that "*its unsoundness, its foulness, cannot be too soon or too fully exposed, that the just sentence of condemnation may be passed upon it by every good man and patriot of the land*?"

Such is the charge of combined duplicity, cruelty and malignity, brought against a respectable association, by an accuser whose lips were almost warm with vows of affection for it! "We believe," says the Editor of the New York Observer, "with Mr. Birney in his first paragraph, that a large majority of the supporters of Colonization, are men of stainless purity of motive, and *therefore* we say, *if* any man charges them with encouraging or conniving at the oppression of the blacks, he is a false accuser of his brethren."

If an accusation, so monstrous and so utterly unsustained by proof, as that made by Mr. Birney, deserved a formal reply, we should probably construct one out of the following considerations:—The Colonization Society invited public favor to an enterprise which is exactly defined in its Constitution, viz. "The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent,) the Free People of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." The Society found these ill-fated persons living in the midst of a community, from whose political privileges they were entirely debarred, in whose civil rights they only partially participated, and in relation to whose social condition their own was that of a separate and inferior caste: Laws existed, placing them under various disabilities of greater or less severity, and similar laws were afterwards passed: But all these enactments were made by authority of which the competency for the object had been solemnly recognised by the American Constitution, and was beyond controversy: To prosecute a system of denunciation against these laws, and thereby foment dissensions in the States enacting them, would have been a course on the part of the members of the Colonization Society, inconsistent with their duties as citizens of the American Confederacy: Such a course would, moreover, have induced increased severities towards the free people of colour, as has since been shown in the effect of similar indiscretions in other quarters on State legislation on this subject: No practical mode could be devised for elevating those persons to a political equality with the whites, so long as the social inequality of the two races should continue: Nor could this social inequality be removed except by physi-

cal amalgamation,—a result forbidden by invincible objections: The Colonization Society witnessing this state of things and the consequent evils, and aware of its own inability to remove them, offered its aid to the practicable object of removing the sufferers under them: The terms of the removal were an exchange of "civil disabilities," "disfranchisement" and "exclusion from sympathy," for the plenary enjoyment of civil and political liberty, elevation of character, and advancement in the scale of social being.

After the fierce introduction on which we have been remarking, Mr. Birney classifies his objections to Colonization, under the following general heads:—1. *The practical influence of Colonization upon the whites;* 2. *Upon the coloured population;* and 3. *Upon Africa;* which principal topics are, of course, divided into a goodly number of subordinate heads.

The discussion of the first of these grand divisions, commences with the following postulate :

"All great revolutions of sentiment in masses of men, calling, of course, for a corresponding change of action, must lay their foundation in some great principle (or principles,) undeniably true in theory; which all the facts pertaining to it, when taken singly, tend to prove, and taken together, fully establish as true, to all unprejudiced minds."

This theory is then elongated into several ramifications, theological, moral and political, of which we shall notice the last, as illustrating the inaptitude of the writer's course of reasoning to practical subjects :

"What," he asks, "was the great truth, or principle, upon which the American revolution was supported? Was it any other than this, that all men were created equal? This was the trunk throwing out towards heaven its noble branches, 'that they are endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'—You, I am sure, sir, do not believe that this principle, had it suffered the least adulteration, would have been sufficiently vivifying to produce the great revolution that it did produce in our condition, &c."

Can it be possible, that so intelligent a man as Mr. Birney really believes that the American Revolution was produced by the "great truth" which he refers to, or by any other abstract principle? Why, even the school histories of that great event would inform him, that Great Britain and her colonies no more went to war for a disagreement about the natural equality of mankind, than they did to settle the question of the Longitude. The principle cited is indeed announced in our Declaration of Independence, and, properly understood, deserves the name of a "great truth;" but that celebrated paper goes on to assign specific, *practical causes* for the war of Independence. It was the influence of these causes which incited our ancestors to commence and to continue the struggle which they so gloriously terminated. There have indeed been political revolutions abounding at every turn in announcements of abstractions; but the result has not said much for either the efficacy of those instruments, or the wisdom of using them. Such commotions have generally had for their object, not the restoration of Government to its true principles, but the disorganization of society, the triumph of anarchy, and the aggrandizement of bad men, whose professions of zeal for human rights were loud in proportion to their own reckless audacity and injustice.

If a careful compiler were to collect together the political and moral dogmas spread over the speeches and publications of the chief actors in the old French Revolution, he would find a sufficient number of really "great truths," (mixed, indeed, with a multitude of absurdities,) to have conducted, on Mr. Birney's notion, fifty revolutions to an issue fortunate as that of our own. Yet, we all know through what paths of crime the

French Revolution proceeded, and in what bitter mockery of its "great truths" it closed. One of the "great truths" of that mournful era, as well as of the American Declaration of Independence, was the natural equality of mankind. It would be quite as fair to ascribe to a principle which Mr. Birney deems so energetic, the failure of the French Revolution, as the success of our own. His new allies produce "great principles," if they produce nothing else, in behalf of the coloured people, as fast as the Abbe Sieyes wrote Constitutions; and with as little advantage to those for whom they are volunteered.

Mr. B. proposes to apply his theory of "great principles" to the purpose of showing "that the principles on which Colonization is recommended to the nation, are *unsound, imperfect and repugnant*;" (Query: *Repugnant to what?*) and after engraving on the theory a scion of metaphysics, avers that the following are mainly "the grounds upon which Colonization has asked for favor from the people of the United States," viz.

"1. That slavery, *as it is*, in our country, is *justifiable*, or that *immediate* emancipation is out of the question. 2. That the free coloured people are, of all classes in the community, the most annoying to us; the most hopeless, degraded, vicious and unhappy, and that, therefore—3. We ought in the exercise of a sound policy for ourselves and from sympathy with these people, to remove them to Africa, where the causes of their degradation, vice and misery will not follow them. 4. That we shall, in sending them to Liberia, by their instrumentality in civilizing and christianizing Africa, pay in some measure the debt we owe to that continent for the mighty trespass we have committed upon her."

"Here," says our author, "we see a strange mixture of *true* principles, with others that are utterly *false*." It may be wished that he had produced his authority for ascribing this quadruple argument to the friends of Colonization; and that he had more precisely stated the first branch of it.—When he declares that it has been contended on behalf of the Colonization Society "that slavery, as it is, in our country, is justifiable, or that immediate emancipation is out of the question," he leaves the reader to doubt whether the identity of these two propositions was asserted by the unnamed advocate of the Society, or is only assumed by his commentator; and, on the supposition that only one of the propositions had been urged for the Society, which one that was. Such unexactness in a professed logician, is not a little remarkable. Until the doubts just mentioned shall have been solved, the defence of the Society on this head, cannot be understandingly made. Meanwhile, the wish may be expressed, that no authorized Agent of the American Colonization Society has so far transcended his own duty, and the constitutional design of that association, as to implicate its claims to public confidence with a defence of slavery. The Society proposes to provide a remedy for an existing state of things; and not to diverge into controversies about the justice or injustice belonging to that state of things.

The want of precision characterizing the first, may be objected also to the last of Mr. Birney's specifications: "That *we* shall, in sending them" [i. e. the free coloured people,] "to Liberia, by their instrumentality in civilizing and Christianizing Africa, pay in some measure the debt *we* owe to that continent for the *mighty trespass we have committed against her*."—The friends of the Colonizing scheme are here confounded with the authors of injuries to Africa, committed centuries ago. Now, the Colonization Society is the child of the present generation—a generation conspicuous for its zeal against the slave trade. This is, in truth, a "mighty trespass:" but one for which the present age is not a whit more responsible than for the rebellion of the arch fiend against Heaven; though every individual of it is responsible, and heavily too, for neglecting the duty of endeavouring to repair the wrongs committed by his ancestors against Af-

rica. And the tendency of the colonizing scheme to this object, is precisely one of the great benefits on which its friends have insisted. The confusion of the *guilt* of introducing slavery into the United States, with the *misfortune* of co-existing there with it, is an anachronism which the attentive reader of Mr. Birney's letter will find to be one of the staples of that composition. In justice to him it should, however, be remarked, that the discrimination on this subject which truth and fair reasoning require to be made, would have been fatal to the larger portion of his argument.

The ancient historians used to animate their writings by speeches put into the mouths of distinguished individuals. Mr. Birney has improved upon the models made familiar to him by his classical studies. He gives us a speech, generated by another speech to which the orator had been listening, and of which this fortunate circumstance has left the only trace. It seems that some slaveholder, after hearing "one of our most ingenious and eloquent Colonization speeches," uttered a soliloquy, which Mr. B. has taken the pains to report. If the report be accurate, the Colonization speech would seem to have been made up of arguments intended to determine the slaveholder *against* the plan proposed by the Society. It is at least difficult to imagine arguments better calculated to produce that effect: and it is certain that those which were used exactly so operated, for the soliloquy ends with the declaration, "I will let alone the whole matter." This was, surely, a strange course of reasoning for an advocate of Colonization; and the curiosity may be pardoned which inquires when, where, and by whom, a Colonization address was pronounced, that could possibly have occasioned the soliloquy of Mr. Birney's slaveholder. As Mr. B. was probably more familiar with his own speeches than with any other in favor of Colonization, one of these may have been his foundation for the monologue. Now, if Mr. B. ever made so extraordinary a speech, it needs only to be said that he made it on his own responsibility; and that he does wisely in replying to himself as soon as possible. But, from the reply might well have been spared the Freshman sophistry of the note to this part of his epistle.

The reader is next entertained with a new category of "Ifs," of the same family with that of their predecessors, and ending with an interrogative invocation to the American public to abandon the Colonization Society, "so injurious to us as a people, and to the cause of humanity and freedom throughout the world." Then follow some reasons "for the apparent permanency of slavery, anterior to the direct efforts made in the last two or three years to overthrow it;" the chief of which reasons is the justification of slavery, before imputed by the writer to the Colonization Society. To this he ascribes what he calls "the alleged melioration of slavery in many parts of the country."

After the insinuated opinion that the "*direct efforts*" alluded to for overthrowing slavery, have tended to promote that purpose, the mind which can so far mistake the "signs of the times," and the connexion between causes and effects, may be excused for the logic which ascribes "the alleged melioration of slavery" to the doctrine that slavery is justifiable.

Mr. Birney assumes that "slavery, as a system, is, to all appearance, more confirmed among us than it was 15 or 18 years ago;" and charges the Colonization Society with having produced this state of things. Both the assumption and the imputation are gratuitous. Mr. B. cites precedents of slavery abolished in other countries, under circumstances so different from our own, as to render those precedents inapplicable. He talks of the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, where Congress holds exclusive jurisdiction; of the purchase and sale of slaves there; and of advertisements in the newspapers on the subject of that traffic. The forbear-

ance of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, may be supposed to result so directly from the considerations, which, when the Federal Constitution was formed, induced the recognition of slavery in the parts of the Confederacy where it then existed, that we are not prepared to infer from such forbearance, that "slavery, as a system, is," either really or "to all appearance, more confirmed among us than it was 15 or 18 years ago." On the contrary, powerful evidence exists that the very reverse of this proposition is true. Has Mr. Birney forgotten the recent decided proceedings in Maryland against slavery? or the discussions on that subject in the Legislature of Virginia? or the institution of a Society which he contributed to form in Kentucky, the place of his present residence, for liberating the future offspring of slaves? or the numerous manumissions which, within the period indicated, have been made in the States just mentioned, and in other States? or the awakened attention to the moral and religious improvement of slaves which is signal in many of the States where they are held?

But, even were there any ground for the alleged confirmation of slavery as a system, the accuser has utterly failed in the effort to make the Colonization Society responsible for it. Slaves were bought and sold in the District of Columbia;* the wishes of buyers and sellers were made known through the newspapers; and the revolting practices which he enumerates existed long before the establishment of that Institution. He cannot, therefore, it may be presumed, (though we speak doubtingly) mean to charge the Society with producing that state of things; but such a charge would be quite as reasonable as the attempt to fix on the Society the cause of its continuance. That the friends of Colonization have ever *directly* advocated the permanence of slavery, Mr. Birney, intrepid as he is in crimination, does not pretend. And his charge that they have indirectly done so, is sustained only by licentious assumptions, a "straining to find the connexion between cause and effect," of which he seems half-conscious; and a forced juxtaposition of "dissociable" circumstances. A sufficient answer to them, were any needed, would be his subsequent admission (which, by the way, is short of the truth), that the incidental operation of the Colonization scheme has been the manumission of eight or nine hundred slaves, for emigration to Africa; and numerous other emancipations, in cases "where the beneficiaries have not been sent out of the country." He professes indeed to think that the Colonization principles deserve as little credit for the latter class of emancipations, as the infidel does for Christianizing a man, whom his arguments against religion had first led to reflect on its importance. As the infidel reasoned in favor of infidelity, the illustration ought to have shown that the friends of Colonization reasoned in favor of perpetual slavery; and by not showing this, it shows nothing. Now, there is no example of such an argument in support of Colonization, except the apocryphal case of the mysterious orator who set the slaveholder on soliloquizing. Though the question of slavery is one with which the Colonization Society has no direct or Constitutional concern, the opportunity which that society affords for safe manumission, has undoubtedly shaken slavery as a system; and will

* It is remarkable that Mr. Jefferson, of whom Mr. Birney, in a subsequent part of his letter, declares, that he "was but a little distance in the rear of the abolitionists of the present day," and that "wherever, human liberty or national justice was restrained, he was the friend and advocate of all from whom it was withheld, be they *white, or red, or black*;" in a letter to Mr. John Holmes, dated April 20, 1820, holds the following language, in relation to what Mr. B. calls the "slave trade by sea and land, to our Southern ports," viz: "Of one thing I am certain; that as the passage of slaves from one State to another, would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it; so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier, and *proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation*, by dividing the burden on a greater number of co-adjutors."—[*Jefferson's Works*, Vol. 4, p. 324.]

we trust, continue to do so, in despite of the counteracting influence exerted on the slaveholder by ill-judged and libellous denunciations of him from quarters where exclusive friendship to the coloured race is pretended.

Mr. Birney affects to show that "the appropriate tendency" of the Colonization doctrines "is to excite a malignant and persecuting spirit against the free coloured people, and more vigorous enactments against the slave." Then comes another of his favourite "*If's*," and a resulting charge of "a shameful lack of magnanimity and manhood." After some grandiloquous declamation, with occasional spangles from the tragedy of Hamlet, he produces what he oddly enough calls his "proof." This is to be found, he says, in "the laws of nearly all the slave states. Take for specimens a few. I have seen the son of a white woman sold into perpetual slavery by the Commonwealth of Virginia—attempting to regain by legal process in a distant State his long lost liberty." A specimen indeed! Mr. Birney ought to have known that by the laws of Virginia, "the son of a white woman" is *free*, and of course cannot be legally sold as a slave. In the case cited, the evidence must have been that the mother of the party was a slave, and of course *not* a white woman. If the statement made to Mr. B. is true, the evidence must have been false. But it is a new principle of political ethics to denounce a law because in a particular case arising under it, false testimony was given.

The other "specimens" of laws affecting the coloured people, are presented in a shape which effectually shields from examination the argument of which they are the basis.* Nothing is said of the places and periods of their enactment; the doubt is permitted, whether the severest of them were passed in States friendly or inimical to the Colonization Society; and yet it is accused, in connexion with those laws, of malignity and persecution! The omission of details so material to the charge deprive it of any title to notice, except as a "specimen" of Anti-Colonization fairness. But wherever, and at whatever times, the obnoxious laws were respectively enacted, Mr. B. has failed, nay, he has scarcely pretended, to prove that the Society had any agency or influence in procuring, or could have successfully exerted any to prevent, their adoption; even conceding for the moment, that its interference would have been proper. He has equally failed to show that the existence of such laws offers no argument for the removal of the free coloured people from the sphere of their operation. Little can be said for either the wisdom or the benevolence of the objection, which censures the effort to do prompt though only partial good, because a more plenary benefit is believed to be not immediately attainable.

Besides the laws of the slaveholding states referred to by Mr. Birney, there is another circumstance incident to the condition of our coloured population, which deserved his attention. We mean their social proscription in the non-slaveholding States; which is so aggravated, that even in instances where their political rights are equal to those of the whites, these rights are reduced by conventional prejudices to an empty name. Intelligent persons among them living at the North, have admitted that when travelling at the South they have been treated with more consideration than at home. Whatever may be the reason, the fact is incontestable, that in the States in which the two races approach a political equality, the prejudice of colour is more deeply and vigilantly cherished by the whites, than in the States in which their superiority is recognised by law.

* Of one class of the laws complained of in Mr. Birney's letter, Dr. MEADE, assistant Bishop of Virginia, in a letter to Mr. Elliott Cresson, says with striking truth, "the laws enacted in some Slave States against manumission, or requiring the manumitted to leave those States, sufficiently prove the existence of the feeling which lead to emancipation."—[*African Repository*, Vol. 8, p. 87.]

In one of the ramifications of Mr. Birney's manifesto, he undertakes to say, that "Colonization principles have in a great degree paralyzed the power of the *truth*, and of the ministry at the South." Having, we suppose, before proved to his own satisfaction the first part of this imputation, he allows the Society a breathing spell, and fastens on the ministers; who, he gives us to understand, are regarded as "*blind watchmen, dumb dogs that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down to slumber,*" except, it may be hoped, some whom Mr. B. knows to be "men of the most sterling principle." The offence, it seems, of the obnoxious clergymen, is that they have married ladies who own slaves. Is Mr. B. serious in denying the rite of matrimony as between pious men and slaveholding women? This is carrying "proscription" rather far, considering his horror at alleged proscription in other quarters. To such a text the following note is appropriate :

"I have heard it stated, and have no reason to doubt the fact—that a member of a Christian church, in the State of Mississippi, was heard to say that he would be delighted at the opportunity of acting as *Executioner* to a distinguished abolitionist of New York— if I mistake not, a member of the same church."

It is lamentable that a gentleman of Mr. Birney's standing should admit such gossip into a grave, laboured argument. The ministers of religion may however congratulate themselves that a philosopher so fond as Mr. B. of building systems on isolated examples, had not charged them as a body with thirsting for Abolition blood.

"When I assumed," says Mr. Birney, "an agency for the American Colonization Society, one of the grounds upon which I mainly rested my hopes of success was the co-operation of ministers of religion and laymen in their example of immediate emancipation and transmission of their slaves to Liberia."

Without dwelling on the reflection suggested by this extract, viewed in connexion with other parts of Mr. B's. letter, that the first practical notion of emancipation was presented to his mind by the plan of the Society, we proceed to express our great surprise that the reasonable hopes to which he adverts, appear to have been totally frustrated. We had been prepared for a very different result by the abundant and constantly increasing evidence of an inclination on the part of the slaveholder to liberate his slaves, when any admissible plan for the future disposition of them should be exhibited; and indeed by Mr. Birney's own statement, before alluded to, that a large, though by him understated, number of slaves had been manumitted and sent to Liberia.

Mr. B. persists, however, in the belief that advantage has not been taken of the "just way for Christian emancipation [which] had, in the providence of God" been opened, and invokes the reader to "hear the reasons." These are given in the form of a dialogue between an agent of the society and a Christian slaveholder; though he remarks, "I will not say that the whole of the above argument thrown for convenience into the form of a dialogue, was presented on any single occasion during my agency in the South West." The defence of the Society by Mr. Birney, is on the whole, much stronger in this effort, than in that mentioned in a former part of his letter; and it is therefore perhaps to be regretted that he did not always prefer dialogising to public speaking. He has omitted, however, one topic, of which the proper use must, we cannot but think, have been effective with the other party to the dialogue. When the Christian slaveholder objected that Liberia was unsuited to the reception of colonists on an extensive scale of emigration, why did not Mr. Birney, instead of evading the force of the objection by an irritating resort to the *argumentum ad hominem*, point out the duty of Christian slaveholders to aid the Parent Society in increasing the capacity of the colony for new accessions? An

individual who favoured manumission only as connected with colonization, might well decline to emancipate his own slaves, while he saw the ability of the Society to colonise, lagging behind the applications on their list of proposed emigrants. It has been often and in various forms proclaimed that to use, Mr. Birney's own language in this very letter, "emigrants offered themselves in greater numbers than the means of the society were competent to send out;" and that the Managers need pecuniary aid not merely for the conveyance and subsistence of the emigrant, but for raising establishments at Liberia, which they deem to be essential to his moral, social, and religious improvement. On such annunciations, an agent of less than Mr. Birney's former zeal for Colonization might surely have framed an appeal not likely to be disregarded by *Christian slaveholders*.

It may be noticed as one of many illustrations of Mr. Birney's inconsistency in reasoning, that though he had shortly before complained of laws in some slaveholding State or States prohibiting the instruction of slaves, and though in this dialogue the complaint is repeated, yet in immediate connexion with the renewal of the reproach, he exclaims, "And how great is the absurdity to educate in bonds those who are intended to be free!" If he means to abandon the complaint, and to stand by the ejaculation, he must be understood to denounce, not only in general, the instruction, whether religious or moral, of slaves, but even in cases in which the owner intends their speedy manumission. If Mr. B.'s phraseology were not rather too nervous for imitation, we might say, how great is the "absurdity" of making slaves free, without having used whatever time and opportunity could be obtained to qualify them by education for the fullest enjoyment of the blessings of liberty!

We come now to the second general head of Mr. Birney's letter:

"I now propose," says Mr. B., "in the second place to speak of the influence of the spirit of colonization upon the free people of color. It will be admitted, I think, by every one acquainted with its history, that it originated in feelings of kindness towards the colored people as well as in prospects of future good to the whites.* So long ago as 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed to the Legislature of Virginia, that all the offspring of slaves, born after that time, should be free at their birth—brought up at public expense—educated according to their geniuses, to the arts, sciences, or tillage—and furnished with every convenience for emigration to such a place as might be provided for them. MR. JEFFERSON WAS BUT A LITTLE DISTANCE IN THE REAR OF THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE PRESENT DAY—HIS SCHEME EMBRACING AN IMMEDIATE ABROGATION OF SLAVERY, EXCEPT IN REFERENCE TO THE SLAVES THEN IN BEING; AND LEAVING EMIGRATION, AS IT WOULD SEEM RIGHT IT SHOULD BE, ENTIRELY TO THE OPTION OF THE COLORED MAN. It did not wring from the weak their "consent" to removal, by presenting the alternative of hopeless slavery on the one hand, and banishment from their native land on the other; but LEFT THEM FREE, TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY WOULD REMAIN HERE AS FREEMEN, OR MIGRATE, IN THE SAME CHARACTER, TO ANOTHER HOME THAT WOULD PLEASE THEM BETTER. This plan, taken in connexion with Mr. Jefferson's sentiments expressed elsewhere, on the subject of slavery, leaves no doubt that the *primordia* of colonization originated in charitable feelings towards those who were suffering before his eyes: for, whatever may have been Mr. Jefferson's sentiments on other subjects, wherever human liberty or national justice was restrained, he was the friend and advocate of all from whom it was withheld, be they *white or red or black*."

The stress here laid on Mr. Jefferson's authority, has induced us to ascertain by reference to his writings the grounds of the claim that he is the parent, "*pulchrioris filia*," of modern Abolitionism, and of the assertion that his views of manumission did not involve deportation. The reader's attention is requested to the portions of the foregoing extract which we have caused to be printed in capital letters.

In the "Notes on the State of Virginia," p. 143—144, (Boston edit.

*The reader will recollect Mr. Birney's theory of the "*total incongruity*."—EDIT. REPOS.

1832, 18mo. p. 280,) Mr. Jefferson thus describes a part of the plan proposed in 1777 for revising the laws of that Commonwealth:

“To emancipate all slaves born after passing the Act. The bill reported by the revisors does not itself contain this proposition; but an amendment containing it was prepared, to be offered to the legislature whenever the bill should be taken up, and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up at the public expense, to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, when they should be COLONIZED to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper, sending them out with arms, implements of household and handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c., to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants; to induce whom to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed. It will probably be asked. *why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state, and thus save the expense of supplying by importation of white settlers the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.* To these objections, which are political, may be added others which are physical and moral.”

In a letter dated January 21, 1811, to Mr. John Lynd, Mr. Jefferson says:

“You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa, an establishment, to which the people of color of these United States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. *Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure that could be adopted, for gradually drawing off this part of our population—most advantageous for themselves as well as for us; going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin, the seeds of civilization; which might render their sojournment here a blessing, in the end, to that country.*”

The writer then states, that in the year 1805, he had received a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting him “at the request of the legislature of that State*, on the means of procuring some such asylum to which these people might be occasionally sent;” and mentions his unsuccessful overtures to the Sierra Leone company and to the Portuguese government. The letter concludes with the following words. “*Indeed, nothing is more to be wished, than that the United States would, themselves, undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*†”

In the letter to Mr. John Holmes, before quoted, dated April 22, 1820, Mr. Jefferson says, on the subject of slavery in the United States:

“I can say with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any practicable way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought if in that way a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected: and gradually and with due sacrifices, I think it might be.”—[*Jefferson's Works, Vol. 4, p. 324.*]

In his memoir of his own life, begun in 1821, Mr. Jefferson, referring to his plan of emancipation, says:

* For a correspondence on this subject between the Governor of Virginia and President Jefferson, beginning in the year 1801, and certain proceedings of the Legislature of that State connected with it, see *African Repository, Vol. 8, p. 97-106.*

† This letter will be found in the first Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 13, 14.

"The bill on the subject of slaves, was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them without any intimation of a plan for a future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment, whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment, however, were agreed on, that is to say, *the freedom of all born after a certain day, and DEPORTATION at a proper age.* But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; *nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT. Nature, haout, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them.* It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably, and *in such slow degree* as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be *pari passu*, filled up by free white labourers." [Jefferson's Works, Vol. 1, p. 39, 40.]

In a letter to Mr. Jared Sparks, dated February 4, 1834, Mr. Jefferson says, "The article" [in the North American Review] "on the African Colonization of the people of color, to which you invite my attention, I have read with great consideration. It is, indeed, a fine one, and will do much good. I learn from it more, too, than I had before known, of the success and promise of that Colony." After mentioning as one rational object of establishing a colony on the coast of Africa, the introduction among the Aborigines of "the arts of cultivated life, and the blessings of civilization and science;" he says, "to fulfil this object, the colony of Sierra Leone promises well, and that of Mesurado adds to our prospect of success."—Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 388.

He then states as the other rational object of African Colonization the removal to Africa of the whole colored population of the United States; and assigns his reasons for the opinion that it cannot be effected by a location on the coast of Africa; refers to his own plan of emancipation; and indicates St. Domingo as a suitable place for colonizing the deported individuals. But we hear nothing from Mr. Jefferson about the American Colonization Society's "wringing from the weak their 'consent' to removal."

In the same letter, speaking again of his plan for getting rid of slavery, Mr. Jefferson says that it is

"By emancipating the after born, leaving them on due compensation, with their mothers, until their services are worth their maintenance, and then putting them to industrious occupations, until a proper age for DEPORTATION. This was the result of my reflections on the subject five and forty years ago, and I have never yet been able to conceive any other practicable plan." * * "In the plan sketched in the Notes on Virginia, no particular place of asylum was specified; because it was thought possible, that in the revolutionary state of America, then commenced, events might open to us some one within practicable distance."—[Ibid. Vol. 4, p. 389, 390.]

From the foregoing citations it appears that in 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed a plan for emancipating the slaves, of which one feature was, that at defined periods "they should be COLONIZED to such places as the circumstances of the time should render most proper;" that he considered the emancipation of the slaves and their continued residence in the same country with the whites, as forbidden by invincible objections, and that such a project would be followed "by convulsions which [would] probably never end but in the extinction of the one or the other race;" that twenty-eight years afterwards, while filling the office of President of the United States, he entered into negotiations to procure a Colonial asylum for manumitted slaves: that a few years subsequently he described Colonization to be "the most desirable measure that could be adopted for gradually drawing off" our coloured population, and strongly advised "that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa:" that in 1820 he referred to a "general emancipation and expatriation," in terms showing that he regarded their union in the same scheme as being the only "practicable

way" of relieving his country from the "heavy reproach" of African Slavery: that in 1821, he characterized his plan as combining emancipation and "deportation," and emphatically expressed the opinion that the *black and white* "races, equally free, CANNOT live in the same government:" and that three years after the last named period, referring again to the same plan, he speaks of DEPORTATION as a part of it. And yet, in the teeth of all these declarations, Mr. James G. Birney comes forward and asserts before the world that

"Mr. Jefferson was but a little distance in the rear of the abolitionists of the present day; that his scheme embraced an abrogation of slavery, except in reference to the slaves then in being; and LEAVING EMIGRATION, as it would seem right it should be, ENTIRELY TO THE OPTION OF THE COLORED MAN;" and that it left the colored People "free to choose whether THEY WOULD REMAIN HERE AS FREEMEN, or migrate, in the same character, to another home that would please them better!"

Palpable as this misrepresentation is, Mr. Birney's character forbids the conclusion that it is wilful. But it displays such gross inaccuracy, as to require from every reader, whose object is "the advancement of truth," suspicious scrutiny into all the statements and reasonings of a writer who can, in any instance, fall into such "indefensible error."

It will not escape the reader's observation, that even had Mr. Jefferson expressed the opinion ascribed to him by Mr. B., and even, what is more important, were that opinion correct, it would not, nevertheless, sustain the objection which is raised. The offer of the Society to the Free People of Colour, is to send to Liberia such of them as are willing to go thither. Now, as their residence in the United States is, by general admission, attended with many vexatious circumstances, what harm does the Society do by proposing an alternative, even supposing such alternative to be ineligible?—Their free choice between remaining as they are and accepting it, is not controlled by the fact of its being proposed. And so, too, in regard to such of the manumissions resulting from the incidental operation of the Society's scheme, as are conditioned on removal to the Colony. Is the slave injured by the option extended to him of continuing a slave or emigrating to Liberia? Surely not, though his deliberations may end in a preference of slavery. The Colonization Society, it should always be borne in mind, has neither, on the one hand, professed the doctrine that no slave ought to be manumitted except on the condition of deportation; nor has it, on the other, undertaken to condemn such laws of the State governments as prescribe that condition. By pursuing either of these courses, it would have deliberately infringed its own Constitution, and have been a volunteer impotent except for mischief.

After some compliments to the late venerable Dr. Finley's heart, and a counteracting depreciation of his understanding; a suggestion that he held opinions "mingled with indefensible error and prejudice" (!!); an account of his colonizing plan; an allusion to that hack of poets and novelists, the *Upas tree*; and a contrast, equally original, between the government of Turkey and that of the United States; Mr. B. declares that in the former country,

* In the memorial of the American Colonization Society, subscribed by its President, the lamented Judge Washington, and submitted to the Congress of the United States in 1817, by Mr. John Randolph, of Virginia, the following language is held:

"The existence of *distinct and separate casts or classes*, forming exceptions to the general system of polity adapted to the community, is an *inherent vice* in the composition of a society, pregnant with baleful consequences, both moral and political, and demanding the utmost exertion of human energy and foresight to remedy or remove."—*African Repository*, Vol. 3, p. 176.

“Where neither the *government* nor *public sentiment* acknowledges any principle sanitary and corrective of oppression—efforts tending to any other object than the removal of the oppressed from the scene of their sufferings would, justly, be deemed enthusiastic and absurd.”

But he thinks, if we see rightly his argument gleaming through a cloud of words, that such removal from the United States, where the principle is acknowledged that “all men are created equal, and have rights that are inalienable, to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” is a “poor shift,” a “conscience-calming expedient for the present exigency.” When gentlemen persist in involving a practical question in the meshes of abstraction, they ought at least to exhibit fully and fairly the bearings of the general principle on which they rest. Now, did it never occur to Mr. Birney, as it undoubtedly must have done to the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that the “inalienable rights” of individuals are not lost to them by their social union? that self-preservation is an “inalienable right” of society? that it may properly apply this principle to the granting or refusing of accessions to itself? or that the people of the United States have a clear right to judge of the tendency of any system or project to affect their safety or happiness, and to determine accordingly on accepting or rejecting such system or project? Will Mr. B. affirm that they have pronounced a favorable judgment on any plan, except that of Colonization, which has hitherto been devised for the benefit of the African race? He has admitted that the Colonizing scheme has obtained great popularity in the United States. When, therefore, he urges the withdrawal of public confidence from this scheme, instead of raising a hue and cry against it, he should exhibit, fairly and particularly, his substitute. To say that the liberated slaves, on a general plan of emancipation, will consent “to take a lowly station” in the United States, assumes the very point in controversy, namely, that they can take either a lofty or a lowly station there, with safety to either themselves or the whites. It is not our business, though it ought to have been Mr. Birney’s, to argue this question.

Mr. B. having tried his hand at soliloquies and dialogues, indulges, at this part of the letter, in another dramatic variety entitled “An intelligent ‘free-man-of-colour’s most probable train of reflections.” The declamation of this episode is rather more wordy than that of the residue of the letter, and considerably more mischievous. What good purpose to either the white or the coloured race can be accomplished by such inflammatory, intense and strife stirring appeals, it is for their authors to explain. By such means, Mr. Birney boasts, the free blacks have been made hostile to Colonization. If so, those who have excited these unfortunate persons against the only scheme which has *done* any thing for their relief, have assumed a fearful responsibility. Mr. B. gives a statement, the correctness of which we shall not stop to examine, of the expeditions to Liberia, in order to show “that the free coloured people have almost entirely abandoned the project” of Colonization. The proof of this proposition is, that the aggregate number of emigrants by four recent expeditions were 260, of whom 200 were manumitted slaves. But this is also evidence that the Colonization Society tends to promote emancipation; a doctrine which, it will be remembered, Mr. Birney had called in question. The embarrassment of either the cause or the advocate must be extreme, when the argument in one part of it so often refutes the argument in another.

The only feature of reasoning observable in the “train of reflections” to which we have adverted, is where the “intelligent” reflector is made to contend that if the prejudice of the white man is strong against him here, it is not likely to be weakened by his removal to Africa; and that if he is a “nuisance” here, he will be so there. To this the answer is

obvious:—Whatever prejudice against the free people of colour exists in the United States arises from their common residence with a race to which they are politically and socially inferior. But the prejudice cannot operate where an ocean divides him who suffered under, from him who entertained it; nor can the degradation co-exist with the elevating spirit of political liberty. The first branch of this proposition is self-evident; and of the second, abundant and daily thickening proofs are furnished at the Liberian Colony.

It will be observed that the reflector is made to assume that the friends of Colonization describe the free coloured people in the United States as a "nuisance." This topic had become almost stale in the hands of ultra-abolitionists; but as it is calculated to make Colonization odious to the persons thus stigmatized, Mr. Birney naturally repeats it. Can he show that the Society has ever authorized this description? Or is it a part of his tactics to make the Society responsible, at every turn, for the volunteer extravagances of agents or friends?

In their Address to the people of the United States, published several years ago, the Managers call the coloured part of our population "a long afflicted and degraded people in the midst of us." That they are "afflicted," Mr. B. will probably not now deny, although he had just laboured to prove it: That they are "degraded," in the true sense of the term, must be obvious to every candid observer of the free coloured people, to say nothing of the slaves, in all the States, and not the less so in the non-slaveholding States. But the word "degraded" does not imply, however the philologists of Mr. Garrison's school may define it, the moral pollution meant by the term "nuisance." Nor is it disputable, on the other hand, that the social circumstances of the free people of colour in our country exert an influence on their morals, which in some sections is debasing, and in all unfavorable.

On reaching his third general head, viz. "*The practical influence of Colonization on Africa*," our author proposes, "for the advancement of truth," to examine, i. e. to contest, "the soundness of the position taken by the colonizationists, that *the colony will be the great means of Christianizing and civilizing Africa*." And here *in limine* Mr. B. makes an admission which being, we think, nearly conclusive against him, might seem over candid, but for his disregard, as in similar cases, of its legitimate operation. His words are,

"That the colony will continue to grow in numbers and importance, until it may be considered as permanently established; that it will furnish a footing for missionaries and others, who may engage in this work of benevolence: that *here* in future times, as in many of our cities now, the religious will assemble to consult and organize associations for diffusing a knowledge of Christianity among the heathen, I shall not for a moment controvert."

Let the reader consider the extent of this admission, and the fact that Liberia is the only establishment on the African coast, of which can be predicated the religious advantages, present and prospective, named in the admission: and then let him, if he can, join Mr. Birney in denying the reasonableness of the expectation "that the colony will be the great means of Christianizing and civilizing Africa." It is marvellous that a writer who describes the colony as a permanent station for missionary enterprise, and as the seat of future congresses of pious men, assembling to diffuse the blessings of Christianity among the heathen, should, almost in the same breath, invoke a Christian people, his own fellow-citizens, "to be *utterly divorced from Colonization in all its parts and in all its measures!*"

In denouncing African Colonization, Mr. Birney declares war on the

Colonization principle generally. In "Colonial Christianity" particularly, there is a "scorching spirit!" The historical examples adduced to prove this position, besides other inaptitudes to their purpose, are liable to an objection so obvious, that Mr. B. anticipates, and attempts to answer it. The objection, as he states it, is this: "The European colonists differed in colour from the natives of countries where they established themselves; whereas the negro colonist of this country goes to Africa with all the advantages of similar colour and physical conformation."

But Mr. B. thinks that there are "causes as completely repulsive between the native African and the colonist from the United States, as any that can be found in *colour* or *form*."

He cites Mr. Pinney as saying, that "The natives are, as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the colonists, as the negro of America is to the white man; and this fact, added to their mode of dress, which consists of nothing usually but a handkerchief around the loins, leads to the same distinction as exists in America between colours:" And also, "from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them as is usually made by the higher class in the United States to elevate the lower."

Mr. Samuel Jones, another of Mr. Birney's witnesses, has given at Lexington, Danville, and elsewhere, testimony in relation to the colony, so comprehensive and particular, and so favourable to it on many important points, that the reader would do great injustice to this witness in supposing that the "whole truth" as told by him is contained in Mr. B.'s extracts from his journal.

Mr. Pinney will probably be surprised to learn the manner in which the citations from his letter have been applied. Because emigrants from a civilized and Christian land, are wealthier and better informed than the Aboriginal heathen; because a dependant and infant colony has not changed ancient nomadic customs, and clothed naked nations; and because the colonists are only *as* solicitous to exalt their inferiors as the "higher class in the United States" is "to elevate the lower;" there is, forsooth, in "Colonial Christianity," a "scorching spirit," and Colonization ought to be abandoned "in all its parts and purposes!" While rejecting these extravagant conclusions, we admit, nevertheless, that there is much to be regretted in the relations between the natives and the colonists. Melioration in this respect is a leading feature of the measures lately adopted by the Managers for promoting the great objects of the establishments at Liberia. It may be reasonably hoped that the progressive improvement of the colonists themselves will be attended with corresponding efforts on their part to civilize the natives; and that the contemplation of colonial happiness will incite the natives to co-operate in plans for their own benefit. But until a sufficient time shall have been allowed to the experiment, public opinion will be just enough to forbear inflicting the penalty proposed in Mr. Birney's anathema.

"But, Sir," asks Mr. B., "has it ever been known, that *Commercial* establishments have proved to be sources of religious knowledge and improvement to the heathen, among whom they have been placed? The colony of Liberia is emphatically one of this character—there exists in it, according to all accounts, a rage for trade. Let us recur for a moment to the history of religious efforts among our neighbouring Indians. Who, amongst us, would ever think of encouraging a *trading station*, or *company of petty shopkeepers* (such as could be induced to emigrate for *gain*), and upholding them, as the best means of diffusing a knowledge of Christianity among the Indians as *missionary stations*!"

That the phrase "commercial establishments" is here used in its exclusive sense, as synonymous with "trading stations," is shown by the

illustrations which are resorted to. It is unfortunately true, that too great a fondness for trade has existed, and we fear, still exists at the colony. But it is also true that so soon as the excess of this predilection became known to the Managers, they adopted salutary correctives. The most efficient would, they judged, be to create a preference for agriculture by offering proper inducements to farming pursuits. To this end much of their legislation, especially of late, has tended, as the public are already informed through the medium of this journal; and strong reliance is felt by the Board on the successful issue of the measures in progress. Meanwhile, to call Liberia a "trading station," as if trade were its exclusive object, because trade is carried on there, or the motive for its establishment, is an abuse of language. Mr. Birney might as well call London or Philadelphia a "trading station." In regard to the traffic between the colonists and the natives*, whatever there may be in it which deserves censure, Mr. B., in order to justify his sentence of plenary condemnation, ought to show that it is more pernicious to the natives, than the trade was which they pursued before the existence of the colony. This, we apprehend, it would be easier to assert than to prove.

* In reference to Mr. Birney's use of this topic, the New York Observer of September 6, contains the following judicious remarks:—"We confess that we are among those who have indulged the expectation that the colony of Liberia will exert a powerful influence in spreading civilization and Christianity over Western Africa; and after duly weighing all that Mr. Birney has said on the subject, we see no reason for abandoning this expectation. We freely admit that the trade in ardent spirits and the implements of war, wherever it exists, is a formidable obstacle to the success of the Christian missionary. But in regard to the coast of West Africa, the question is not, whether the missionaries shall encounter this obstacle: that point is already settled, for rum and gunpowder have been the great articles of trade with the natives on all that coast for more than two centuries, and there is no spot to which the missionary could obtain access where he would not find the trader in these articles already established, and from his little factory exerting a controlling influence over the natives around him. The question is, whether, (Christian colonies being abolished) the missionary shall be left alone and unaided, to encounter the trader on his own territory, where there is no power that can check his bad influence, or whether he shall avail himself of the assistance that may be derived from a government framed and conducted by men willing to second him in all his views, and from the public sentiment of a community trained in the principles of the Gospel, and as capable as any other Christian community of being made to feel the obligation of these principles. The question is, whether Liberia as it now is, does not on the whole present more eligible stations for missionaries to the heathen than it would if there were no colony on its territory? Let the conduct of the American board of Foreign Missions answer this question. That board, composed of some of the wisest men in our country, have been studying the subject of Christian missions for more than twenty years; they have their missionaries in every part of the heathen world, and they understand the nature of obstacles to Christian missions better than any other men in the land. The board have recently determined to establish missions in Western Africa; and out of the hundred points presented for their choice along a coast of two thousand miles, which do they select? Are they not *the points in the immediate vicinity of our Christian colony?* And is not this proof that the men who are best competent to judge in the case regard Christian colonies on the coast of Africa as, on the whole, favorable to the success of missions among the heathen. But if Liberia, with all its present imperfections, is viewed by the most intelligent promoters of missions to the heathen as an aid to their cause, what may we not hope for, when public sentiment in this country, operating upon public sentiment in the colony, shall consign to merited disgrace the trader in all articles which are destructive to the bodies and souls of men? What may we not hope for, when new colonies, like that at Cape Palmas, adopting the purest principles of morality as fundamental articles in their constitution, shall be established along the whole coast from Sierra Leone to the Cape of Good Hope? What may we not hope for, when the most intelligent coloured men in this country, burning with zeal to preach the Gospel to their heathen brethren in Africa, and trained for the office by the best instructors, both here and in the colonies, shall go forth from all the points secured by those colonies, to publish the good news of salvation to the millions, whom the voice of the white man can never reach? Does Mr. Birney regard such expectations as merely a delusive dream? *We* believe that this dream *may* be realized, and we *dare not*, therefore, call upon our Christian brethren 'to divorce themselves from colonization in all its parts and in all its measures.'"

Fully as each part of this singular epistle under examination prepares the reader for extravagance in the sequel, one proposition is introduced towards its close, so monstrous as to put at fault all his previous discipline. Will it be believed that Mr. Birney considers the Liberian colony as tending to PROMOTE the prosecution of the *slave trade*? Let him speak for himself:

"Is it not very probable, that those very persons who have looked with high expectations, to the scheme of Colonization, as the best that could be devised for the annihilation of the African slave trade, are doomed to suffer utter disappointment. This trade has been carried on since the establishment of the colonies at Sierra Leone and Liberia, as vigorously as it ever had been driven at any former period; and notwithstanding it is regarded by the laws of the states of Europe, as well as of our own country, *piracy*, and is punishable with death, and many of the public ships of these powers, particularly of England, are continually cruising in the African seas in quest of slavers, yet, sir, is this traffic in human flesh carried on throughout the whole coast, and to no contemptible extent, *even in their own colony established for its suppression*. This fact was fully disclosed by an inquiry instituted not long since, in the British Parliament. Nor am I, by any means, sure that the result of the same inquiry does not, on very strong grounds, implicate some of our own colonists of either directly participating in the trade, or else conniving at its existence in the neighborhood of Monrovia.

May we not be prepared to expect this, from the evidence already before the public, of the entire deterioration of the Christian character in such of the colonists as have been most successful in trade, and their utter neglect, thus far, of the natives? If men professing Christianity will at this day consent to enrich themselves by the sale of such vast quantities of ardent spirits as have been sold to the natives by church members in Liberia, their next movement will be to sell to the *slaver* his supplies—suspecting him to be such, yet asking no questions, for who questions a customer with a full purse? The next step will be to assume a secret agency for him; the *next*, a direct participation in the profits connected with the agency; and lastly, when such men by their wealth and influence have moulded public opinion to sustain their views, and the colony is left to its own government, there will, in all probability, be a shameless and open prosecution of the trade in their fellow-beings."

Mr. Birney has not denied and cannot deny, that along a coast of nearly three hundred miles, wherever the influence of the Colony could reach, the African slave trade has been extinguished. The expectation fairly springing from this fact, is that as the Colonial settlements grow in numbers and importance, they will exert increased efficacy in suppressing the slave trade. But Mr. B. prefers to this obvious calculation, inferences from premises palpably insufficient for any purpose except to manifest a spirit of exaggeration against the Colony. The slave trade, we are told, "has been carried on since the establishment of the Colonies at Sierra Leone and Liberia, as vigorously" (even Mr. B. shrinks from saying as *extensively*) "as at any former period;" it has even been prosecuted at the Colony of Sierra Leone. Mr. B. is not "by any means sure," [a fresh specimen of his *stiletto* style of accusation!] that "some of our own Colonists" are not even now concerned in the slave trade; some of the Liberian merchants are alleged, but not proved, to have grown rich by selling ardent spirits to the natives; *ergo*, these merchants will hereafter be slave traders themselves; and *ergo* again, when "the Colony is left to its own government, there will, in all probability, be a shameless and open prosecution of the trade in their fellow beings"! To say nothing of the uncharitableness of this mode of reasoning, we venture to say that in a court of justice, the advocate of a party charged with a criminal offence, who should hazard an argument so loose in its connexion, and so violent in its presumptions, would be deemed by Court, jury and audience, as being culpably regardless of the interests of his client, and of his own fame. What shall be said of such licentiousness, when the object is not defence, but crimination?

As this Protest against the Colonization Society approaches its long considered conclusion, the reader once more meets with his old acquaintance, the "Irs.:"

"If it be true," says Mr. B. speaking of Colonization, "that, whilst it professes in itself a capacity for the relief of the country from slavery, it has, after seventeen years of trial—*fair and honorable trial*—done nothing that has *ouched* the matter; if it falls in with—though it may not have originated—uncharitable feelings, unscriptural and unreasonable prejudices, and inhuman laws against the colored population among us; if it occasions a deterioration of Christian character in the great body of those who emigrate—and *through them* brings the Christian religion into dishonor, among the heathen—there is nothing in it, according to my poor judgment, that entitles it to the support of the patriot or the Christian."

"If," indeed, these positions be true, Mr. B.'s inference from them is irresistible: and passing weak must be the reasoner who, assuming boundless license in creating his premises, should fail in his conclusions. But "if," on the other hand, as we have endeavoured to show, and sometimes with the aid of Mr. B. himself, not one of his "Ifs" be true, he is right in the opinion that only a "poor judgment" can determine that "there is nothing in [Colonization] which entitles it to the support of the patriot or the Christian." One topic of this recapitulatory series of "Ifs," is there introduced for the first time in the letter. Mr. B. speaks of the Colonization cause in the United States as having had "seventeen years of trial—*fair and honorable trial*." In his new born zeal against the Colonizing Society, the commencement of its operations is here dated from the preliminary meeting in Washington in December, 1816, which preceded by several years the settlement of the Liberian Colony. The epithets "*fair and honorable*" are italicised by Mr. Birney, in order, it may be supposed, to convey the impression that the trial of the Society has been *peculiarly* "*fair and honorable*." He forgets, then, that all which tradition could do to possess the public mind with false views of the principles and proceedings of the Society, has been attempted by those with whom he disclaims any connexion, but whose opinions, nevertheless, remarkably coincide with those now professed by himself. That a large majority of the American nation have given the Society a "fair and honorable trial," and are disposed to afford it a farther hearing, it would gratefully acknowledge. With the results of the trial as hitherto disclosed, it has every reason to be satisfied. What is Mr. Birney's estimate of these results, cannot easily be told. For, we have seen in one part of his letter the Society described as "bringing around it the learned, the religious, the influential;" as having "by the multiplied resolutions of favoring Legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences and associations, so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment;" and as having "acquired great authority over the mind of this people." And in the part of the letter which we have now reached, it is said: "Although colonization in the west and south-west—as to any effectual future action—is dead: yet its ghost is unceasingly beckoning us away from the only course in which our safety lies." What this "only course" is, Mr. Birney nowhere distinctly announces. He vaunts that his opinions are those "to which such minds as Wilberforce and Clarkson yielded their full assent—that they are the opinions of the *disinterested* and excellent of our own country." Though the lamented Wilberforce was induced, during his last illness, to sign the London Protest against the Colonization Society, it is well known that his mind, in its period of health and energy, was decidedly favorable to that Institution, and that the same sentiment is still entertained by the venerable Clarkson. But even were the fact otherwise, the competency of any foreigner, however morally and intellectually distinguished, to pass conclusive judgment on the intricate domestic question peculiar to the United States, may well be doubted. The claim of Anti-Colonialism that "*the disinterested and excellent of our own country*"

belong exclusively to its ranks, is novel enough, whatever may be said of its modesty, of its justice, or of its consistency with other declarations of Mr. Birney. "The stainless purity of motive" which in a former part of this extraordinary composition he "very cheerfully attributes" "to a large majority" of the supporters of Colonization, looks very much, Dr. Johnson would think, like "disinterestedness;" and the same quality might be expected in those Colonizationists of whom Mr. B. says: "I have friends 'dear to me, who would, in integrity, rank with the Camilli and the Fabricii, and in the strength of Christian principle, fall but little behind the 'martyrs of the church.'" The Colonizing Society, without appropriating to itself this high-flown eulogy, may justly aver that there is nothing in the character of its members or in the nature of its plan, deserving the imputations which its seceding brother has cast on it; and which a few idle compliments serve only to place in full relief. The American People, too, may be of opinion that in denouncing a scheme which had received some portion of their favor, which had done something, whatever might be its amount, towards mitigating a great national evil, and which had at least the merit of loyalty to their constitution and laws,—Mr. Birney should put forward some alternative plan, possessing superior claims on their confidence. The benevolent and the pious, who were looking with intense solicitude on the agency of that scheme in meliorating the condition of an ill-starred portion of the human family, and in planting the standard of the cross in the fastnesses of paganism, may complain of the rashness which seeks to extinguish the light of their hopes without providing against the darkness that must follow. Mr. Birney urges, to be sure, the instant abolition of slavery. But he attempts not to indicate the means by which this abolition is to be effected. So far as his project can be conjectured by the analogy of his reasoning to that of other denouncers of Colonization, it proceeds either on the supposition that unmeasured abuse of the slaveholder will persuade him to relinquish what he considers rights, secured to him by the Constitution of his country; or, in the contingency of his refusal, that those rights are to be wrested from him by an infraction of that instrument. Between an enterprise so chimerical or revolutionary, and the practical, inoffensive, and Constitutional system of Colonization, it is for an enlightened people to decide.

DR. BEECHER'S ADDRESS.

We copy from the Cincinnati Journal, the Rev. Dr. Beecher's eloquent speech at the late Colonization meeting in that city:—

There can be no doubt that slavery, through the world, is destined to cease. Man was to be governed by reason, conscience, and the laws of heaven; and the signs of the times announce, that the day hastens, when every yoke shall be broken, and the oppressed go free. The illumination of science, the contributions of art, the diffusion of knowledge, the principles of liberty, the power of public sentiment, and the example of prosperous self-government are revolutionizing the world.

In our own country, it is manifest that slavery must terminate quickly; and we trust that before the close of the present century, the reproach will be wiped away.

Our free institutions, public sentiment, the climate, and the depreciation of slave labor in some states,—in others, the exhaustion of the soil, and in all, the growing knowledge, impatience, inutility and peril of the slave population—the increase of emigration, from considerations of conscience or fear or necessity, and the existing or fast approaching emancipation of the colored race in the Islands, in Mexico, and in many of the non-slaveholding states, all declare the termination of the relations of master and slave to be near.

But as all past great changes in society have been accomplished by providential instrumentality, it is time that the chosen instrumentality should begin to be developed; and it

is developed, in the extended and extending associations of the colonization and abolition societies, which, though like opposing clouds they seem to be rushing into collision, will, I doubt not, pour out their concentrated treasure in one broad stream of benevolence—like rivers, which ripple and cbase in their first conjunction, but soon run down their angry waves, and mingle their party-colored waters, as they roll onward toward the ocean.

I rise, therefore, not as the exclusive partizan or opponent of either of these societies, but to say to them, as Joseph said to the sons of Jacob, "See that ye fall not out by the way, for ye are brethren."

It is not to be expected that either of them, in the novitiate of their being, will be able to escape mistake and defy criticism. It does not lie within the compass of human faculties, to plan and execute with infallible foresight and wisdom. Society must continue in barbarism, if we reject improvement except on condition of consummated perfection. It seems also impossible to rouse the mass sufficiently for great undertakings, without a heat which ignites the most ardent temperament to explosion and irregular action, throwing back repellancy on the main body. One of the greatest vexations which Luther and other reformers had to encounter, was the indiscreet zeal of this class of minds. The cause of liberty, in the early stages of our revolutionary struggle, was dishonored by patriot tory hunters, of tarring and feathering memory. In great revivals of religion, men of this temperament do often great good, and yet in such a manner, as to do sometimes more hurt than good. The cause of benevolence, then, in meliorating the condition of men, is not to be made accountable for those mistakes and indiscretions, which the greatest care cannot wholly avoid in novel experiments and great movements of the human mind. I will not, however, embalm and canonize mistakes and imprudence, because found always with great and benevolent undertakings. They stand out on the page of history, for warning, and not for daring and reckless imitation.

It will be my object to show, that in meliorating the condition of the colored race, there is a work for the Colonization Society to perform, and that in its proper sphere, it is worthy of continued confidence and efficient support, and that for the emancipation and elevation of the colored race, there is also a work which more properly belongs to a society for the purposes of Abolition, which, judiciously conducted, may win the hearty co-operation of all patriots and Christians.

No doubt the great providential work for which the Colonization Society is raised up, lies in Africa—compared with which all the good accomplished in this country is merely incidental, and as a drop of the bucket in the ocean. The wrongs of Africa are to be redressed; her darkness exchanged for light; her sighs and tears for songs of praise; her long captivity, for glorious and never ending liberty: What men meant for evil, God meant for good; and the accomplishment of his comprehensive plan will at last cause the wrath of man to praise him in the civilization and Christianization of Africa.

By the hands of the colonists he is beginning to scatter the pirates which infest her coast, and extinguish the fires of her dark interior; and bind up her wounds, and bid her rise to the community of nations, whose God is the Lord.

That the slave trade must cease *is certain*. Feeble as the moral sense of nations is, and slow as is their movement in a work of justice and mercy, the conscience of nations is beginning to act, and the arm of power to be extended, in earnest, to blot out this long standing shame on humanity.

That the slave trade must cease *soon*, is manifest from the movements of Providence.—The power of steam is opening a highway to the heart and the extremities of Africa; and commerce, the pioneer of Christianity, has commenced her march, and the angel has lifted the wing for flight, to preach, trumpet-tongued, the everlasting gospel.

But the influence of the slave trade over the petty kings on the coast and in the interior is such as renders impossible the establishment of mere missionary stations. Fast as they could be planted, they would be instigated to cut them off with moral certainty.

In these circumstances naval protection would not avail. The great expense, the extended coast, and the inconstant elements, render the exclusion of the slave pirate from access impossible. There must be *land* defences, and these must be colonial establishments stretched along the coast, conciliating the natives, and substituting a healthful commerce for traffic in the souls and bodies of men.

At the time the Colonization Society was formed, a simple missionary establishment could not have been originated and sustained even in our own country. The missionary spirit was not sufficiently up, and denominational prejudices and sectional jealousies and irreligious aversions would have defeated the effort, but heaven saw what was needed, and raised up Mills, to pass with silent, miraculous perseverance through the southern states, asking questions, collecting facts, sounding feeling, giving light, and preparing the affinities for a coalescence, at the proper time. He explored Africa, and by the sacrifice of his life organized the band of her deliverers, and opened the way for her salvation. The Colonization Society is the offspring of his prayers and wisdom. It assumed what at that day none questioned—the impossibility of expatriation. *That* may prove to be true, or it may not; the subject is as yet unsettled: a matter of theory and argument, and not of experience; but to have preached emancipation then as plainly as it has since been urged in the legislatures of slave-holding states would have consigned the society to contempt and

imbecility. But, heaven-directed, it moved on. and called up attention, excited hope, awakened conscience, diffused information, and extended discussion, secured confidence, collected resources, proposed and executed plans of colonial establishment, until success itself outran the capacity of efficient management, and threw back the reaction of a temporary embarrassment, and produced the conviction that in the vast movement, a division of labor was indispensable; that a home department to superintend the work of emancipation and moral culture was indispensable, while the civilization and christianization of Africa, by colonial establishments, should absorb the interest and effort of the Colonization Society. And He who seeth the end from the beginning, has called into being another institution, disposed, and if wisely directed, abundantly able to do the work. Both, we believe, to be the offspring of providential wisdom and benevolence, according to their respective views and preferences, to one or the other department of this glorious work.

They are distinct departments. They are ample. They are of urgent necessity, and do not of necessity interfere with, but mutually aid one another. The demand of Africa upon us is imperious and must not be disregarded or postponed.

And the condition of the free colored race, and of their brethren in bondage, and our own condition, all demand immediate and earnest heed. It is a subject not to be slept over, and not to be committed to providence without the offer of a willing and an associated instrumentality. In an appalling ratio, the slaves are increasing; and the condition of the free, with such incapacities as they labor under, will become worse instead of better, as their numbers multiply.

Humanity, benevolence, self-preservation, and the providence of God, demand urgently, a more direct and efficient movement to avert the evil. But great care is needed that in this diversion of labor, the children of benevolence should not fall out by the way. How mournful would be the sight, should the Christians of the United States array themselves in antagonist societies. It is a contention, which above all others should be let alone before it be meddled with; for should it enter the churches, it might agitate and rend them, burning up the gold and leaving only dross. It might separate very friends, now harmonious in the great enterprises of the day, and send discord and dismay through the sacramental host. The unhallowed controversy might break out in colleges, and theological seminaries, and raise up a generation of conflicting ministers to perpetuate strife through the coming generation.

There would be great danger, that the collision would degenerate into party spirit, depreciating each other's success, and amplifying and rejoicing in each other's mistakes, and publishing to an exulting, unbelieving world, each other's failings; and bring a deep reproach, over which angels must weep, upon our common Christianity. No hindrance of the Colonization Society to the cause of Abolition could well become as great an evil, as the controversy likely to be introduced, by an effort to put it down. It would be an anomaly in the history of our benevolent institutions; a root of bitterness, unknown in our churches before; a baleful comet athwart our heavens, shaking pestilence and war from its fiery train. And why should the Colonization Society be rejected from the brotherhood of benevolent institutions? Both associations are agreed in most of the great principles which command the entire subject.

That slavery is wrong, and a great national sin and national calamity, and that as soon as possible it is to be brought to an end; not however, by force, nor by national legislation, nor by fomenting insurrection, nor by the violation of the constitution and the dissolution of the union, but by information, and argument, and moral suasion—and by the spontaneous action of the slave-holding states. Nor are they of necessity antagonist societies in practice.

It is not necessary that the Colonization Society should be or claim to be an adequate remedy for slavery. Her great and primary object, is the emancipation of Africa, while she anticipated as an incidental result, the emancipation of the colored race at home. But if time has disclosed what she could not foresee, she may bow submissively to the providential will of heaven.

If in the urgency of her early argument, she has spoken in terms of unadvised depreciation of the free people of color, her most devoted sons have acknowledged the mistake, and are disposed to repair the injury. If she has insisted too peremptorily, that emancipation can never, in any circumstances, take place on the soil, she may quite consistently waive the discussion of that point; and leave to heaven and time, the manner of the abolition of slavery. The Colonization Society does not denounce the slave-holder: because it would not facilitate, but hinder her work; but her silence does not prevent others from doing it, if it seems good in their sight. If the effect of colonization would be to increase the security of the slave property, the effect would be only temporary and limited, and more than balanced by the general and more permanent good, for the diffusion of light and argument, which she could circulate where the agents of abolition could not come.—Every instance of abolition for colonial purposes, attracts notice, and produces discussion, and carries a new appeal to the conscience of the slave-holder and new hope to the bosom of the slave. The Colonization Society need not insist that the entire colored population shall be emptied out upon Africa, nor is it necessary that the Abolition Society should insist that none should go thither. Is it indispensable, to the emancipation of the sons of

Africa, that their mother country should sit in darkness, and drink blood amid the *terrors* of paganism and the slave trade, till all her exiled children are emancipated? Must her sons be taught to harden their hearts against her, till the entire reproach of slavery is wiped away? Is no compassion to be moved, prayer to be offered, no missionary spirit to burn, no sorrow of heart to be felt for kinsmen according to the flesh, in benighted Africa? Is there no obligation on Christians of the colored race, to volunteer for the introduction of Christianity to the land of their fathers? Where then is the necessity of a collision? The Colonization Society is not required to insist on its exclusive efficiency to put away slavery; and the Abolition Society is by no peculiarity of wisdom or foresight, authorized to insist that slavery shall terminate only in one way, and by their own single instrumentality.

Great moral events can never be accomplished by single causes, and God has never set his seal to all parts of any complex human plan.

Our brethren may be right, that the slave states will, in some form, emancipate on the soil. But can they compel them to do it by a moral embargo upon the emancipated?—Can they do it by sealing hermetically the crater, while they augment the intensity of the fires within?

And were it possible to burst every chain upon the soil, and force the colored race up the tide of prejudice, to an equality of intelligence and estimation, is it the most expeditious way to accomplish their elevation?

How long would it take to bring up to a mediocrity of intelligence and secular prosperity the lowest classes of our white population? It is a work which turns the destiny of our nation, and in which we toil almost without perceptible progress. But there are greater impediments to the elevation of the free colored people: and what if it be prejudice, is there any thing more unreasonable and obstinate? and what if it be wicked, is it less obstinate because it is criminal?

Besides, the colored race lack but half a million of our number, when our national existence commenced. And why should a nation so distinctly marked, be scattered among so many repellances among the whites?

Ought they to be satisfied with an elevation so low and privileges so meagre and doubtful, compared with the blessings of a distinct nationality?

The controversy rages, as if every thing turned on the question of African colonization, or emancipation and elevation among the whites.

But by what authority do we limit the Almighty, and tie down the destiny of the colored people to a condition so low compared with the blessings of nationality? And is there not land enough on this western continent for a colony of colored people, and if the whites can be brought to nurture them in their bosom, would they refuse to them the blessings of an associated residence? We trust our colored brethren will take more comprehensive views in respect to their nation than those which would compel them to rise against the greatest possible obstacles, to a doubtful mediocrity, while the great body of the people continue literally servants, though nominally free!

In our efforts to elevate the condition of the colored people, we owe it to ourselves and to them to avoid the consequences of a too precipitate approximation. They are not qualified to bear it with humility and discretion; and its injurious effects on them will but serve to confirm the prejudice against them, and against our benevolent efforts for their good.—It revolts also the public sentiment on this subject, which need not be outraged, and cannot, with impunity, be set at defiance. The prejudice of color is doubtless the result of condition and character. Had Africans been the oppressors, and Americans the slaves, white complexion and straight hair would have been the badges of servitude and the occasions of prejudice; but since prejudice is the result of condition and character, it is invincible till the causes which created it are removed. If condition has created the chasm, affinities of intellectual and moral character can alone fill it and produce a reasonable approximation. In this way only has it died away in Europe and other places where color, coupled with talent and moral worth, is no obstruction to social and civil intercourse; and all attempts to hasten approximation without these intervening qualifications, will but augment prejudices and repellances.

It is alike obvious, and all attempts of emancipation should be conducted with kindness of manner, and courteousness of language. The evils of slavery are such as make it easy to awaken sympathy and rouse up indignation, while the means of their most felicitous removal are those of meekness, patience, and untiring effort.

The importance of the cause affords no dispensation from the laws of prudence, or justification for heaping hard words upon the head of the slave-owner. It is he who must emancipate the slave; and he, by our instrumentality, will do it only as we conciliate and convince him, instead of rousing up his pride or anger. If it is his duty to emancipate in the shortest practicable period, and if by our rashness we rouse his indignation and protract their bondage, we are partakers in his sin.

In this connexion, I may say that we ought by no means to denounce one another as the abettors of slavery, because we do not accord in all respects as to the ways and the means of accomplishing emancipation.

To denounce, therefore, all those who do not accord with us as the patrons of insurrec-

tion, on the one hand, and the abettors of slavery on the other, proceeds on the modest assumption that every jot and tittle of our judgment is infallibly right, and the smallest deviation, a justification of war.

Such are the conclusions to which a long and careful observation has brought me, and I cannot but hope that they may commend themselves to the judicious of all classes, and avert the calamities of a ruthless controversy. But should this hope not be realized, and the unrelenting war of extermination be turned upon us, then, mournful as the alternative may be, we stand, with great kindness, (for many of our opponents are among our most esteemed friends,) but with unalterable decision, for the protection and the deliverance of Africa. Having doubled and quadrupled our zeal and prayers and contributions and efforts, we persevere till age chills the current of our warm blood and lays our head low in the dust. We feel assured that God has called us to build up the desolations of that dark continent, and we cannot believe that he has forbidden us to finish, what he called us to begin.

The prayers which have been offered, the substance which has been given, the sacrifice of life which has been made, the territory which has been gained, the experience acquired, the confidence of the natives secured, the elements of civil and religious institutions brought together, are not recklessly to be thrown away. That it should be demanded, might seem wonderful, but that it should be conceded, would be more wonderful still.

God has called us to colonize Africa, as significantly as he called our fathers to colonize at Plymouth, or our foreign missionaries to sit down at Ceylon, or Owhyhee—and has he reversed the call? Has the trump of God warned us to desist? Have the elements made insurrection against us, or the stars in their courses fought against us, or such infatuation been poured out upon us as indicates his purpose to destroy? No voice from heaven has warned us from Africa; and no calamities which did not more powerfully obstruct the primitive Christians and the Puritan colonists, and no mistakes have happened to us but such as are common to men in conducting difficult and distant enterprises.

Why then should we abandon Africa? Who would take up the work under better auspices? No visible association exists, nor plan tested by experience, while an effort is making to divert all thought and interest and effort from Africa. To be absorbed in the experiment of abolition, is planting the seeds of sanguine hope, and putting on the harness with a confidence that might better besit the putting it off. Why then should we abandon the colonization of Africa? Is the resurrection of Africa, inconsistent with the cotemporaneous resurrection of her exiled sons? Must one sleep in the dust till the other arises? May not the trump of God call both from their graves at the same time?

But were the interests of Africa in direct collision with those of abolition, is it a settled point that the cause of Africa must be relinquished. Here, two millions and a half of souls are in bondage; there, if I mistake not, more than a hundred millions: Here evangelical light shineth dimly upon all, and intensely upon few; while in Africa, one hundred millions sit in darkness and in the region of the shadow of death. Here, though no finger were lifted, the night is far spent and the day is at hand: a course of providential movements has commenced that co-operation may accelerate, but opposition cannot hinder.—But what causes of promised deliverance lie in the bosom of Africa, and to what external aid can she look, when colonial protection is withdrawn, and the slave-trader and the petty despot maintain the empire of despotism and traffic in desolation.

In this view of the subject, who would take, willingly, the responsibility of opposing the Colonization of Africa; and what friend of Africa will falter or desert her cause? Who that has ever given will not give more than ever: and who that has plead her cause, will not plead with renewed importunity? We oppose not the emancipation or elevation of the colored race. We desire it sooner than it can come, we fear, by the means relied on by many. We have only to say to our brethren, hinder us not. Commend your cause to public confidence in your own way, and we will do the same with ours. and let the people judge; but let there be no controversy between us. But if, after all, the abandonment of Colonization is demanded, as the only condition of peace, then we have made our election. If it be possible, as much as in us lieth, we will live peaceably, but we cannot abandon the one hundred millions of Africa. The bones of Mills would send groans from the bosom of the deep—his spirit sigh from heaven, deeper darkness settle down upon ill-fated Africa. The fires of war would rage on, and her captive bands drag their chains from the interior to the shore, to wail and die amid the horrors of the middle passage, or to drag out a miserable life amid stripes, servitude and blood. If I forget thee, O Africa, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not plead thy cause, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

The Society gratefully acknowledges the receipt of \$200 in goods for the Colony from Elliott Cresson, Esq. They are also indebted to the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania for the passage in the *Ninus* of fourteen persons of colour, the expense of which would have been \$280.

POETRY.

THE following beautiful and instructive stanzas were written by a school boy, who had not long been taken from one of the lowest stations in life. "His life," says the London Quarterly Review, (vol. 21, p. 396,) "had been eventful and unfortunate, till his extraordinary merits were discovered by persons capable of appreciating, and willing and able to assist him. He was then placed under a kind and able instructor, and arrangements had been made for supporting him at the University; but he had not enjoyed that prospect many weeks before it pleased God to remove him to a better world."

LINES WRITTEN IN THE CHURCH YARD OF RICHMOND, YORKSHIRE,
BY HERBERT KNOWLES.

"It is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias." MATTHEW XVII. 4.

1.

Methinks it is good to be here,
If thou wilt, let us build: but for whom?
Nor Elias nor Moses appear,
But the shadows of eve that encompass the gloom,
The abode of the dead and the place of the tomb.

2.

Shall we build to Ambition? Oh, no!
Affrighted, he shrinketh away:
For see, they would pin him below,
In a small narrow cave, and begirt with cold clay,
To the meanest of reptiles a peer and a prey.

3.

To Beauty? Ah, no! she forgets
The charms which she wielded before:
Nor knows the foul worm that he frets
The skin which but yesterday fools could adore
For the smoothness it held, or the tint which it wore.

4.

Shall we build to the purple of Pride,
The trappings which dizen the proud?
Alas! they are all laid aside:
And here's neither dress nor adornment allow'd,
But the long winding sheet, and the fringe of the shroud.

5.

To riches? Alas! 'tis in vain!
Who hid, in their turns have been hid:
The treasures are squander'd again,
And here in the grave, are all metals forbid
But the tinsel which shone on the dark coffin-lid.

6.

To the pleasures which mirth can afford?
The revel, the laugh, and the jeer?
Ah! here is a plentiful board,
But the guests are all mute as their pitiful cheer,
And none but the worm is a reveller here.

7.

Shall we build to Affection and Love?
Ah, no! they have withered and died,

Or fled with the spirit above.
 Friends, brothers, and sisters are laid side by side,
 Yet none have saluted, and none have replied.

8.

Unto Sorrow? The dead cannot grieve.
 Not a sob, not a sigh meets mine ear,
 Which compassion itself could relieve.
 Ah, sweetly they slumber, nor hope, love, nor fear;
 Peace, peace, is the watchword, the only one here.

9.

Unto death, to whom monarchs must bow?
 Ah, no! For his empire is known,
 And here there are trophies enow.
 Beneath the cold dead, and around the dark stone,
 Are the signs of a sceptre that none may disown.

10.

The first tabernacle to HOPE we will build,
 And look for the sleepers around us to rise!
 The second to FAITH, which ensures it fulfil'd;
 And the third to the LAMB of the great sacrifice,
 Who bequeath'd us them both when he rose to the skies.

 INTELLIGENCE.

 TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND CLERGY-
 MEN.

THE Managers of the American Colonization Society, believing that many copies of the African Repository are at present sent to Auxiliary Societies and Clergymen who have not, for a considerable time, contributed any thing to the funds of the Society, and being desirous of curtailing their contingent expenses as much as possible, have come to the conclusion of striking off from the list formerly given to the publisher of the work, the name of every Auxiliary Society and Clergyman, who has not, within the last two years, afforded aid to the Parent Society; and they give this notice of their intention. If, in carrying into effect this operation, any Society or Clergyman shall, by mistake, be erroneously included amongst the non-contributors, and fail to receive the Repository, the Managers hope the error will be pardoned, and that information will be immediately given thereof to this office, in order that the procedure may be corrected.

TO OUR READERS.

The unexpected length of one of the articles in the present number obliges us to postpone the promised insertion of Dr. HODGKIN's remarks on the "*British African Colonization Society*," and several other interesting articles.

Extract from the minutes of the Synod of New Jersey, October 1834.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Synod, the plan of colonizing, on the western coast of Africa, the free people of colour in the United States, merits the serious consideration of every Christian and benevolent person in our land.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the present pecuniary embarrassment of the American Colonization Society, there is nothing in the state of its affairs, that should discourage the friends of that institution with respect to the prosecution of their benevolent enterprise.

Resolved, That this Synod earnestly recommend the American Colonization Society to the prayers and patronage of the churches under its care.

The foregoing resolutions were, we learn from a correspondent of the *New York Observer*, (November 1) adopted with but two dissenting voices. "In support," says the same gentleman, "of the resolutions, the

Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, a member of the Synod, made a most eloquent address, and was listened to with delight and fixed attention by the members of that large and respectable body.

"The almost unanimous adoption of the resolutions evinces clearly, that the cause of Colonization has still a firm hold upon the judgment and feelings of the friends of religion and humanity within the bounds of the New Jersey Synod."

DEATH OF THOMAS S. GRIMKE.

With heartfelt grief we record the death of THOMAS S. GRIMKE. This distinguished friend of literature, religion, and humanity, died in the 49th year of his age, on the 12th of October last, of the cholera, at the house of Mr. Anderson, in Madison County, Ohio. A more detailed notice of the life and character of the deceased than there is room for in the present number, is due to his memory, and will appear in our next.

EMIGRANTS TO AFRICA.

The ship *Ninus*, Capt. H. Parsons, sailed from Norfolk on Sunday the 26th of October, for Liberia, in Africa. She had on board 128 emigrants, 110 of whom were liberated by the late Dr. Hawes, of Rappahannock, Va. who also appropriated funds for their transportation.

With the approbation of the Parent Colonization Society, these go to found a new colony at Bassa Cove, about eighty miles distant from Monrovia, on the coast of that continent, whose nations are sitting in darkness, and in the regions of the shadow of death. They are sent to give them the light of Christian example, and to introduce among them the arts of civilized life. This colony is to be established on strictly Christian and temperance principles. These first emigrants to this new colony are nearly all members of the Baptist Church, and have in their number three preachers of their own colour. Twenty of them can read and write; and a goodly portion of them have valuable trades, and not one is super-

annuated. All of them seem to be above the ordinary class for vigor and intelligence.

There are also on board the ship *Ninus* 14 very valuable slaves, belonging to the estate of the late Matthew Page, Esq. of Frederick Co. Va. and now liberated with the consent of Rev. Mr. Andrews and Lady, (the daughter of Mr. Page,) to join at the old Colony others heretofore sent by Mrs. Page, the excellent sister of Bishop Meade. These are all amply provided for, having large stores of clothing, provisions, and tools, and every thing necessary to render them comfortable.

There are also on board of the same ship two white gentlemen and a lady, who go out as instructors. Upon the whole, there has no expedition gone to that country better equipped, and which has fairer prospects of success than the present.

On the subject of this new settlement, we subjoin the following article from the *New York Spectator* of October 23d.

It is pleasing to learn that information from various quarters confirms the wisdom of the selection made by the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, for their new colony. We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from the Rev. John Hersey, late Vice Governor of the Cape Palmas Colony, to an officer of that Society, from which we make the following extracts.

"Respecting Bassa Cove as a location for the settlement of a colony of coloured people, I regret that it is not in my power to give you more extensive and satisfactory information, in reference to this interesting subject. My time during my stay in Africa was almost exclusively engrossed in making preparations for the comfort and accommodation of the new colony recently settled at Cape Palmas, consequently my personal knowledge of that section of country is very limited; nor can extensive or correct information be acquired in that land of ignorance, without much time and labour.

"I was at Grand Bassa on my way to Cape Palmas, and only spent part of two days there. There is a beautiful river (the St. John's) which empties into the ocean at that place. On the margin of this sheet of water, there has been a flourishing little town erected during the past year, called *Edina*. The inhabitants appeared to be in good health, and I was informed that they had suffered very little from sickness, and had lost very few of their number by death, although they had no physician with them. The margin

of the river and surrounding country is formed of rich, high and sandy ground, which appears to be free from marsh, swamp, or mangrove. At a distance of twenty or thirty miles in the interior, two large and beautiful mountains of a conical form arise to view. I was informed by several of the colonists who had been in their vicinity, that several beautiful streams of pellucid water ran down their sides, which, after meandering through a moderately broken and diversified country, empty into the St. Johns. The colonists have cleared the land in the vicinity of Edina to some extent, which is now under cultivation, and yields all the products of tropical countries in abundance. The soil is of a sandy texture, and is consequently cultivated with great facility. I was better pleased with the appearance of the country in the vicinity of Grand Bassa and Bassa Cove as a point of settlement, than any other place I saw on the coast.

"I hope that your laudable and truly benevolent efforts in the cause of suffering and degraded humanity, will be crowned with complete and triumphant success. Africa appears to be designed by a good and munificent God, as the residence and home of the coloured man.—There he can enjoy the sweets of liberty and religion, together with all the necessary comforts of this life.

"I am fully persuaded that the plan of Colonization pursued rationally, judiciously, and perseveringly, will ultimately silence all the clamors of its enemies, and induce the reflecting part of our coloured people to desire a lot in the land of their fathers as ardently as they are now taught to detest that country and their best friends.

"Yours, respectfully and affectionately,

"JOHN HERSEY.

"To Elliot Cresson, Esq."

SYNOD OF KENTUCKY.

From the Western (Kentucky) Luminary, Oct. 15, 1834.

The Synod of Kentucky commenced their annual meeting in the Presbyterian church at Danville, on Wednesday, the 8th inst. The Rev. ANDREW TODD was chosen Moderator, and Rev. NATHAN L. RICE, and Rev. JAMES HAWTHORN Clerks. Our information extends only to Saturday evening. Up to that time but little business of special interest had been transacted, excepting the adoption of the preamble and resolutions which we subjoin, on the subject of Slavery.

Declaration and Resolutions of the Synod of Kentucky, concerning Slavery.

This Synod, believing that the system of absolute and hereditary domestic slavery, as it exists among the members of our communion, is repugnant to the principles of our

holy religion, as revealed in the sacred Scriptures, and that the continuance of the system, any longer than is necessary to prepare for its safe and beneficial termination is sinful, feel it their duty earnestly to recommend to all Presbyteries, church sessions, and people under their care, to commence immediate preparation for the termination of slavery among us;—so that this evil may cease to exist with the present generation; and the future offspring of our slaves may be free.

In recommending that emancipation be universally extended to all slaves hereafter born, this Synod would not be understood as excluding those now living from the operation of the benevolent principle above commended. They believe there may be at the present time many slaves belonging to members of the Presbyterian communion, whose situations would be greatly improved by emancipation, and that many others, especially of the children and youth might be prepared for freedom by the use of reasonable efforts on the part of their masters. But it is difficult to provide by general rules for such individual cases, and this Synod thinks it best to leave them to the operation of the christian law of love on the consciences of men.

For the purpose of promoting harmony and concert of action on this important subject, the Synod do

Resolve, That a committee of ten be appointed, to consist of an equal number of ministers and elders, whose business it shall be to digest and prepare a plan for the moral and religious instruction of our slaves, and for their future emancipation, and to report such plan to the several Presbyteries within the bounds of this Synod, for their consideration and approval.

Resolved further, That this Synod have unabated confidence in the scheme of African Colonization, and hope of its great usefulness, and that we look upon African Colonization as one interesting door of hope opened to us in the providence of God for doing a signal service of patriotism to our common country, an act of justice to the unfortunate African race among us, and for spreading the blessings of civilization and the everlasting gospel in the interior of Africa.

After considerable discussion the paper was adopted; the yeas and nays being called for, are as follows; viz:

YEAS—J. Howe, S. Robinson, J. K. Burch, J. C. Barnes, Wm. Dixon, J. H. Brown, J. C. Young, Jos. Huber, W. L. Breckinridge, T. Root, P. Vanarsdale, J. Green, A. Reed, L. Landrum, Hugh Hays, L. Anskins, Abner Hamilton, J. Calhoun, Ch. Cunningham, C. A. Campbell, J. G. Simrall, W. W. Hall, J. F. Price, R. Davidson, S. Wilson, R. Stuart, L. W. Dunlap, J. N. Blackburn, A. T. Skillman, J. H. Logan, John Brown, W. B. Redd, Asa Farrar, J. S. Berryman, Dan'l. B. Price, J. L. Tracy, J. M. C. Irwin, A. A. Shannon, James Hawthorn, N. L. Rice, Alfred Hamilton, M. Hardin, Alex. Logan, Chas.

Nourse, M. D. Averil, S. W. Calvert, R. H. Lilly, Eli Smith, D. S. Todd, J. J. Rice, T. Cole, S. Y. Garrison, Chas. Phillips, Geo. Poage, T. P. Smith, Andrew Todd:—56.

NAYS—Wm. Wade, Thos. C. Howard, Jas. Bell, J. Harriott, Sam'l. Wallace, A. Cameron, Thos. Smith, Jas. Caldwell:—8.

NON LIQUETS—Thos. Cleland, Sam'l. Lynn, N. A. Thompson, S. V. Marshall, J. Eggen, J. Bemiss, Robt. Hamilton:—7.

On motion. *Resolved*, That the whole document as amended be published in the Western Luminary, and that it be recommended to each pastor, and stated supply to read the congregation in which he labors, previous to the next meeting of Synod.

A true extract from the minutes.

Attest: R. DAVIDSON,
Stated Clerk of Synod.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, for the month of October, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

E. F. Backus, Connecticut,	- - - - -	\$100
George H. Burwell, Virginia,	- - - - -	100
General John H. Cocke, do	- - - - -	100
Rev. Thomas C. Upham, Maine,	- - - - -	100
<i>Collections from Churches.</i>		
Berkeley, Va. Norbonne Parish, by Rev. W. P. C. Johnson,	- - - - -	6 25
Caney Fork, Kentucky, by A. R. Currey,	- - - - -	81
Delaware, by Rev. W. Matchet,	- - - - -	50
Freehold, Monmouth county, N. J. Presbyterian ch. by Rev. D. V. M'Lean,	- - - - -	8 92
Lewistown and Wayne congregations, by Rev. J. S. Woods,	- - - - -	10
Liberty meeting-house do, by B. Temple,	- - - - -	5 18
Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian church,	- - - - -	8
Maine, Phipsburg, Rev. Mr. Boynton's Society,	- - - - -	7 53
Bath, by Mr. Ellenwood,	- - - - -	20 70
Emanuel Parish, by Rev. Mr. Ten Broek,	- - - - -	8
Woolwich—by Rev. Mr. Goss,	- - - - -	3
Sacarappa, by Mr. Searles,	- - - - -	5
Biddeford, for 1833 and 34, by Mr. Merrill,	- - - - -	5 81
Waterford, by Mr. Douglas,	- - - - -	3 30
Bucksport, by Mr. Blood,	- - - - -	12 81
Minot Auxiliary Society,	- - - - -	6
<i>Auxiliary Societies.</i>		
Albemarle, Va. Female Auxiliary Society,	- - - - -	46
do to make Rev. Nicholas H. Cobbs, of Va. a Life member,	- - - - -	30
Vermont Auxiliary Society, by D. Bateman, Esq. Treasurer,	- - - - -	400
<i>Donations.</i>		
Goodrich, Samuel, sen. Wilkinson Mississippi,	- - - - -	5
Magown, C. B. Centreville, Amite co. do	- - - - -	10
Van Campen, William, Natchez do	- - - - -	10
Wall, Isaac, Centreville do	- - - - -	10
Becraft, Jonathan, Morgan county, Illinois, for the use of his former servant, Thomas Baker, now in the Colony of Liberia,	- - - - -	50
<i>Monies received by R. S. Finley, Agent for the Western District of the United States.</i>		
From Mrs. Steele \$1; Mr. Job Haines \$2; Mr. Jos. Barnes \$3;	- - - - -	6
Collection in Methodist Episcopal church, Madison, Indiana, Rev. L. Smith, Pastor, after an address by R. S. Finley,	- - - - -	7 86
From N. Ferguson, Esq. collected in Pisgah church, Fayette county, Kentucky, Rev. Jacob Price, Pastor,	- - - - -	12 75
J. Bates, collected in 2d Presbyterian church, Cincinnati, after a sermon by Dr. Beecher,	- - - - -	52
Fayette county Colonization Society, by Rev. W. Leary, Treasurer,	- - - - -	26 50
James G. Birney, a balance due the Society,	- - - - -	26
Presbyterian church, Dayton, Ohio, by Rev. Mr. Putnam,	- - - - -	20
do Augusta, Kentucky, by Rev. J. Cole,	- - - - -	10
Christ church, Cincinnati, by Rev. B. P. Aydelot, (and a subscription of \$5 to be paid in books),	- - - - -	20
Winthrop B. Smith, Cincinnati, by Rev. B. P. Aydelot,	- - - - -	10
A little girl in Cincinnati, by Rev. Mr. Spalding, a gold breastpin and cents,	- - - - -	25
James M'Millan, collection in 1st Presbyterian church, Madison, Indiana, by Rev. J. T. Russell,	- - - - -	14 8
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Bledsoe, Richard, Natchez, Mississippi,	- - - - -	9
Foster, Joseph, Woodville, do	- - - - -	10
Patterson, John,	- - - - -	2
Van Campen, William, Natchez, do	- - - - -	6



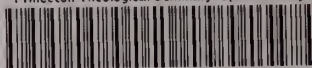


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